ELIZABETH AND MARY STUART

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Queen Elizabeth.

After the Hatfield Portrait.

ELIZABETH AND MARY STUART:

THE BEGINNING OF THE FEUD

BY

FRANK ARTHUR MUMBY

ILLUSTRATED

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PREFACE

MARY STUART'S irresistible claims demand at least as large a share of my space as that devoted to the early reign and courtships of her rival on the English throne. Hence the present volume does not carry me so far as I had originally planned in the series in which I hope eventually to illustrate the history of England by means of contemporary letters. That I have not succeeded in steering an incontrovertible course in exploring the labyrinth of letters, written not only by the Queens themselves but also by those who helped to shape the destinies of both kingdoms in their day and generation, will surprise no one who has ventured to make an independent investigation of the documents of that embittered period. No other chapter in the whole history of the United Kingdom is so difficult to present in the form of an impartial contemporary narrative as that which introduces the hapless Queen of Scots, about whose mystifying personality the last word will probably never be written. If the whole truth about the first phase of her rivalry with Elizabeth, and the fatal mistake of her marriage with Darnley, may not be found in the following chapters, the letters at least reveal the various views which were taken at the time, and, above all, recreate the atmosphere of the age as only such documents can ever succeed in doing. "Letters and dispatches, like journals entered day by day," as Sir George Cornewall Lewis wrote in one of his essays, "have this advantage over memoirs, that they exhibit faithfully the impressions of the moment, and are written without knowledge of the ultimate result. They are, therefore, more trustworthy than any narrative composed after the whole series of events has

been worked out, at a time when the narrator is tempted to suppress, or has learnt to forget, the proofs of his own want of foresight." Even where the letters are based on prejudice, or are obviously false, they are nevertheless essential to a true understanding of history, as showing some of the secret springs of foreign and domestic policy. Especially is this the case with the diplomatic intrigues of the early years of Elizabeth's reign, and the disputed course of events which led to the turning point in the tragedy of Mary Stuart, where the first irrevocable step was taken along the Via Dolorosa which was to end at Fotheringhay. Only when due allowance is made for these early developments is it possible to arrive at anything approaching to a true idea of Mary's character and personality. In the same epoch-making years also were laid the foundations of the policy which governed the whole of Elizabeth's reign. It seemed to me, therefore, better to do something like justice to this critical period than to crowd any of the later happenings into the present volume. The closing chapter of Amy Robsart's melancholy romance falls within its scope, as well as the first act of the tragedy of Mary Stuart, and the many intrigues, amorous and political, which began as soon as Elizabeth ascended the throne. All these may be traced, step by step, in the correspondence of those who watched every move with absorbing interest. For the new light on Mary Stuart and the Darnley match I am indebted to the late Mr. Andrew Lang, whose article on the subject in *Blackwood's Magazine* for July, 1907, was the first reference to Randolph's hitherto unpublished letters, now printed on pp. 349—57. Permission to reprint the extract from the letter to Sir Henry Sidney has been very kindly granted by Mrs. Andrew Lang and the editor of *Blackwood's;* and I owe it to the courtesy of the officials of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum that I am able to include the unpublished letter from the Egerton Manuscripts, the search

for which proved unexpectedly difficult. As before, I have to thank the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office for permission to print the letters from the Calendars of State Papers and the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Messrs. Longmans were also kind enough to allow me to copy an occasional letter from Froude's History, as acknowledged in the text on each occasion. My indebtedness to the works of Professor Pollard, Dr. Hay Fleming, Mr. R. S. Rait, Father Pollen, Mr. T. F. Henderson, and other living authorities on the period dealt with, has I hope been made sufficiently clear in the course of my work. A full list will be found on pp. ix—x of the various works and collections from which most of the letters themselves have been selected.

The portrait of Lord Darnley with his younger brother, which belongs to his Majesty, and is preserved at Holyrood Palace, is now reproduced by permission of the Lord Chamberlain. The photogravure frontispiece of Queen Elizabeth is from a plate generously lent to me for the purpose by Mr. Werner Laurie, who used it originally for the life of the Earl of Leicester by Mrs. Aubrey Richardson, published under the title of "The Lover of Queen Elizabeth." A word of thanks is also due to Mr. Roger Ingpen and Messrs. Hutchinson & Co. for their ready help with the portrait of the Earl of Leicester, from a water colour drawing in the British Museum. The remaining illustrations are from paintings in the National Portrait Gallery, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and other collections.

FRANK A. MUMBY.

KINGSGATE,
THANET,

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS AND OTHER COLLECTIONS FROM WHICH LETTERS HAVE BEEN SELECTED

Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots. Vols. I. and II., 1898—1900.

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ELIZABETH AND MARY STUART

CHAPTER I

"DAUGHTERS OF DEBATE"

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GRAVE doubts, in more ways than one, have been cast upon the legitimacy of Queen Elizabeth's birth, but almost every outstanding trait in her character stamped her as a true daughter of Henry VIII., eager for power and popularity, insatiable in personal vanity. Like her father, too, she was English to the finger-tips—not half Spanish like her predecessor, as she took care to remind her ambassadors at the Peace Conference which had been interrupted by Mary's death. Just as Henry VIII., nearly half a century before, had been hailed with enthusiasm by a nation which had reason to rejoice in the magnificent promise of his youth, so was Elizabeth's accession greeted by the whole of Protestant England, as well as by many of the Catholics, who, putting their country before their religion, were equally tired of the Spanish yoke. She soon made it clear to Philip II. that she was as determined as ever her father had been to

rule in fact as well as in name: that the destinies of England were no longer to be shaped under the Spaniard's guidance, as he had lately shaped them—to his own ambitious ends—as Consort of Mary I. The new Queen was astute enough, however, to make this clear to her widowed brother-in-law without mortally offending him, well knowing that England, as yet, was not strong enough to stand alone. It was well for Queen and country that both the rulers of Spain and France had their hands full at this time with the alarming growth of heresy in their own dominions, and that the war which had just been patched up by the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis had left them with their coffers empty. Otherwise Philip might have responded to the warnings of his ambassador, the fiery Feria, that unless he pressed his claims by force of arms if necessary, England, and all that England meant to him, would slip through his fingers. Henry II. of France, also, might have shown his teeth on behalf of his prospective daughter-in-law, Mary Stuart, through whom, as great-grand-daughter of Henry VII., he had hopes of adding England to what he already regarded as his Scottish Kingdom. In his eyes—as in those of all good Catholics—Elizabeth was illegitimate, and he did his best to induce the Pope to excommunicate her. Failing in this, and not daring to oppose her accession, with Spain ready in that event to spring at his throat, he nevertheless, when Mary I. died, caused his daughter-in-law to be proclaimed in Paris as Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland. Thus early was the quarrel begun between the Queens whose rivalry was to end only with the tragedy of Fotheringay nearly thirty years later. Mary's claim persuaded many people at the time of Elizabeth's accession that England was destined to fall to the share of France if Spain gave her half a chance. "To make a hard comparison," as an English agent in Flanders said at the time, "England may be likened to a bone thrown between two dogs."[1] That also was the opinion of foreigners who, like Feria, either failed to understand, or wilfully misconstrued the new-found strength of England's position now that most parties were prepared, for the time being at least, to accept Elizabeth as Queen.

[1] Foreign Calendar, 1559—60, II., p. 3.

The following is the continuation of Feria's letter, in which, after Philip's decision to marry the French King's eldest daughter, Elizabeth of Valois—Elizabeth of England having declined him with thanks—the Count told his master, frankly and bitterly, that "we have lost a kingdom body and soul:"

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *April* 11, 1559.

. . . Now that God has deigned to send this great boon of peace to christendom, and your Majesty is more at leisure to attend to other obligations, I think it is time to consider how things are going to end here. This business is divided into two heads, first, that of religion, and whether your Majesty is bound in this respect I do not inquire, although the Catholics claim that notwithstanding the country having been at the disposal of your Majesty to be treated as you wished, it has come to its present pass. The other head is the question of the State, and the necessity of preventing the King of France from dominating the kingdom, for which object he has two circumstances so favourable to him, namely, the just claims of the Queen of Scots, and the great ease with which he could take possession owing to the miserable state in which the country is, as I have informed your Majesty several times since I came hither, and I think it has been growing worse every hour. I have done my best to carry out your Majesty's commands to try and tranquillise the country and please the Queen, and to hold my hand in religious affairs, and at the same time to push them on to make peace, without any responsibility weighing on your Majesty with regard to the conditions under which it was made, and this I have succeeded in doing, as your Majesty is more free than ever therefrom. But it behoves me to consider whether, with things as they are, your Majesty can be assured of that which is desirable, because

as I understand—leaving aside God's affairs and religious matters unredressed—now that these people are better able to do as they like than at any time since this woman became Queen, all the time which may be allowed them to carry out their heresies will be pernicious to the tranquillity and quietude of the country, and may give rise to tumult.

And besides this, whenever the King of France finds means in Rome to get this woman declared a heretic, together with her bastardy, and advances his own claim, your Majesty will be more perplexed what to do than at present, because I do not see how your Majesty could in such case go against God and justice, and against the Catholics, who will doubtless join him (the King of France) if he comes with the voice of the Church behind him. To let him take the country, which he will do with so much ease that I dread to think of it, would be to my mind the total ruin of your Majesty and all your States, and seeing things in this light, as I do, and to fail to inform your Majesty, would, in my opinion be a crime worthy of punishment both towards God and your Majesty. They tell me the Swedish ambassador has again pressed the matter of the marriage, and told the Queen that the son of the King his master was still of the same mind, and asked for a reply to the letter he brought last year.[1] The Queen replied that the letter was written when she was Madam Elizabeth, and now that she was Queen of England he must write to her as Queen, and she would give an answer. She did not know whether his master would leave his kingdom to marry her, but she would not leave hers to be monarch of the world, and at present she would not reply either yes or no. With this message

[1] This was during the last months of Mary's reign—a critical period for Elizabeth, then living in retirement at Hatfield and careful to make no false move which might place in jeopardy her rights to the succession. The King of Sweden had sent her a secret proposal for her hand, on behalf of his eldest son Eric, but she had declined to enter into any negotiations of the kind which were not first submitted to Mary.

a secretary who came here this winter was despatched, the ambassador remaining here. About a week ago this secretary came back and brought a grand present of tapestries and ermine for the Queen, and says that his master will send very shortly one of the principal lords of his kingdom to treat of the marriage. He had audience of the Queen yesterday. I do not know what passed. . . .

I had written thus far three days ago, and have detained the post in the hope of seeing the Queen before despatching the letter. I have not seen her, but in order to keep your Majesty well informed I have thought best to send it off. The only thing fresh that I can say is that no class of people in the country, so far as I know, is pleased with the way in which your Majesty has made peace. The Catholics are grieved that your Majesty should have married away from here, and the heretics are in a state of great alarm at the thought that everybody is arming against them. The Queen has already declared in Parliament that she will not be called head of the Church, whereat the heretics are very dissatisfied. Cecil went yesterday to the lower house and told them from the Queen that she thanked them greatly for their goodwill in offering her the title of supreme head of the Church, which out of humility she was unwilling to accept, and asked them to devise some other form with regard to the supremacy or primacy. He was answered that it was against the word of God and the Scripture, and they were surprised at his coming to them every day with new proposals and objections.

The heretics—as Feria persistently called the Reformers, who had always regarded Elizabeth as the heroine of their religion, had expected more than she was prepared to give immediately upon her accession. It was no part of her policy to rush matters in this direction. No ruler ever ascended the throne of England who understood so well the art of keeping people friendly by postponing their hopes—"to shelve business with fair words" as Feria once expressed

it—and though everyone knew that England was drawing farther and farther away from Rome, as well as from Spain, there was nothing in the shape of a sudden resolution to drive the Catholics to revolt. Like her indispensable Secretary of State, the wise but not heroic Cecil, she had trimmed her religious sails discreetly through the stormy years of Mary's reign after accepting the varied forms of Protestantism under Edward VI. Probably she did not care enough one way or the other to risk more than was absolutely necessary now that she was herself seated on the throne. Calvinism she disliked with some of her father's hatred of Lutheranism, especially after Knox's "Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women"; yet to declare herself a Catholic and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope would have been tacitly to admit her own illegitimacy, for had not Rome pronounced as invalid her mother's marriage to Henry VIII.? So it suited her plans best to let her future plans unfold themselves gradually, rather than to bring about the sudden upheaval hoped for by the zealous Reformers who had hurried back from exile to England as soon as they received the eagerly awaited news of Mary's death. Their disappointment at the slow realisation of their hopes may be seen in the letter from Dr. Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, to the great Protestant theologian with whom he had stayed at Strasburg and Zurich after escaping from the Marian persecutions in 1555:

JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

["*Zurich Letters*," First Series.]

LONDON, *April* 14, 1559.

Our friend Sandys[1] has done me much wrong; for, notwithstanding I had already written to you, though I earnestly besought him not to do so, he sent you his own letter unaccompanied by mine. However, except that I feel this duty of mine has long been owing to you, nothing has hitherto occurred which it would give you much pleasure to hear.

[1] Dr. Edwin Sandys, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, afterwards successively Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of London and Archbishop of York.

O [Queen] Mary and the Marian times! With how much greater tenderness and moderation is truth now contended for, than falsehood was defended some time since! Our adversaries acted always with precipitancy, without precedent, without authority, without law; while we manage every thing with so much deliberation, and prudence, and wariness, and circumspection, as if God Himself could scarce retain His authority without our ordinances and precautions; so that it is idly and scurrilously said, by way of joke, that as heretofore Christ was *cast out* by His enemies, so He is now *kept out* by His friends. This dilatoriness has grievously damped the spirits of our brethren, while it has wonderfully encouraged the rage and fury of our opponents. Indeed, you would hardly believe with how much greater boldness they now conduct themselves than they ever did before; yet the people everywhere, and especially the whole of the nobility, are both disgusted with their insolent exultation, and exceedingly thirsting for the gospel. Hence it has happened that the Mass in many places has of itself fallen to the ground, without any laws for its discontinuance. If the Queen herself would but banish it from her private chapel, the whole thing might easily be got rid of. Of such importance among us are the examples of princes. For whatever is done after the example of the sovereign, the people, as you well know, suppose to be done rightly. She has, however, so regulated this Mass of hers, (which she has hitherto retained only from the circumstances of the times,) that although many things are done therein which are scarcely to be endured, it may yet be heard without any great danger. But this woman, excellent as she is, and earnest in the cause of true religion, notwithstanding she desires a thorough change as early as possible, cannot however be induced to effect such change without the sanction of law; lest the matter should seem to have been accomplished, not so much by the judgment of discreet men, as in compliance with the impulse of

a furious multitude. Meanwhile, many alterations in religion are effected in parliament, in spite of the opposition and gainsaying and disturbance of the bishops. These however I will not mention, as they are not yet publicly known, and are often brought on the anvil to be hammered over again. . . .

We have as yet heard nothing respecting the Queen's marriage, an event which we all desire most earnestly. Farewell, my father, and much esteemed master in Christ. Yours wholly,

JOHN JEWEL.

The marriage problem probably troubled Elizabeth a good deal more than the religious settlement. For the time being the statutory religion was that of the Roman Church, and she had no intention of changing it without the formal sanction of Parliament. The question of a husband, however, could be settled by herself alone. It is only by a full understanding of her peculiar position that it is possible to arrive at a true estimate of her subsequent conduct. Elizabeth was either an abandoned flirt or a victim of cruel circumstance which she was able to turn to England's great advantage. The truth seems to be that "she was not as other women," as Mary Stuart wrote in years to come on the authority of both Lady Lennox and Lady Shrewsbury. Ben Jonson's coarse explanation in his "Conversations with Drummond," and other corroborative evidence,[1] clearly suggest that Elizabeth knew that she was physically incapable of motherhood. If this were so it would account for such strange outbursts as she poured into the sorely-tried ears of the Earl of Sussex, years later, when almost checkmated by one of Alençon's despairing moves. Marriage, she protested, had always been repugnant to her, "and she hated it more every day, for reasons which she would not divulge to a twin-soul, if she had one, much less to any living creature."[2] Some hint of this disability is conveyed in the last paragraph of Feria's next letter to the Spanish

[1] One of Melville's objections to the suit of the Duke Hans Casimir was that he had heard that Elizabeth knew herself incapable of bearing a child (see p. 302).

[2] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. III., p. 351.

King, which is worth giving at length for its intimate details of the discussion in which the Queen closed her confession of faith by declaring that "she hoped to be saved as well as the bishop of Rome":

COUNT DE FERIA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

April 29, 1559.

I received your Majesty's letter of the 24th inst. on the 27th and went to the palace the next day. After giving your Majesty's letter to the Queen I spoke to her in conformity with what had been written to me. She heard me as she had heard me many times before, only that on this occasion I spoke in your Majesty's name. Although I tried to frighten her all I could, I kept in view the necessity of not offending her, as they have preached to her constantly that your Majesty and the King of France hold her of small account, and she thinks that the only thing she needs is to get rich. I smoothed her down a good deal in this respect, making her understand that your Majesty was prompted only by your great affection for her, and considered her harm or advantage as your own. She answered amiably that she thanked your Majesty for your message. Subsequently in conversation with me she said three or four very bad things. One was that she wished the Augustanean confession [otherwise the confession of Augsberg] to be maintained in her realm, whereat I was much surprised and found fault with it all I could, adducing the arguments I thought might dissuade her from it. She then told me it would not be the Augustanean confession, but something else like it, and that she differed very little from us, as she believed *that God was in the sacrament of the Eucharist*, and only dissented from three or four things in the Mass. After this she told me she did not wish to argue about religious matters. I told her neither did I, but desired to know what religion it was that she wanted

to maintain, as I understood that even those who were concerned in it were not agreed one with the other, as was the case with all the other heretics in Germany and everywhere else, and I was terrified to see that whereas the other princes were laying down their arms in order to cope with heresy, she with her kingdom tranquil and Catholic, was doing her best to destroy religion ; and besides this, that she wanted to revoke the good and holy laws that God, your Majesty, and the late Queen had enacted here. If for no other reason than the great obligations she owed to your Majesty she should reconsider this matter. I for my part had done my best that your Majesty should not hear of the small respect that had been paid you in certain things, so as to maintain the good relations which I desired to exist between you, but that the present state of things was very grave, and so notorious that your Majesty could not fail to hear of it from other quarters even if I did not inform you. She answered that she only intended to revoke laws that had been passed by the late Queen before she married your Majesty. I told her it was all one, as they had been confirmed and upheld after her marriage. She reminded me that she was her sister, but I pointed out how different one obligation was from the other.

She also said that your Majesty well knew she had always been of the same opinion, and the Queen as well, but I assured her that your Majesty had never heard such a thing. She was very emphatic in saying that she wished to punish severely certain persons who had represented some comedies in which your Majesty was taken off. I passed it by and said that these were matter of less importance than the others, although both in jest and earnest more respect ought to be paid to so great a prince as your Majesty, and I knew that a member of her Council had given the arguments to construct these comedies, which is true, for Cecil gave them, as indeed she partly admitted to me.

She then said that as these were matters of conscience, she should in life and death remain of the same way of thinking, and would be glad of three hours' talk with your Majesty. At the end of the colloquy she said she hoped to be saved as well as the bishop of Rome. I told her of the good offices your Majesty had rendered to her with the Pope, in order that he should not proceed against her, and asked her not to let them persuade her that this was a small matter, as for a schism less grave than heresy, a King of Navarre had been deprived of his kingdom by a sentence of the Pope, and remained without it to this day. . . . It is very troublesome to negotiate with this woman, as she is naturally changeable, and those who surround her are so blind and bestial that they do not at all understand the state of affairs.

They talk a great deal about the marriage with Archduke Ferdinand, and seem to like it, but for my part I believe she will never make up her mind to anything that is good for her. Sometimes she appears to want to marry him, and speaks like a woman who will only accept a great prince, and then they say she is in love with Lord Robert [Dudley] and never lets him leave her. If my spies do not lie, which I believe they do not, for a certain reason which they have recently given me, I understand she will not bear children, but if the Archduke is a man, even if she die without any, he will be able to keep the kingdom with the support of your Majesty. I am of this opinion, and the reasons I have shall be placed before your Majesty when I arrive. I beg your Majesty to order this business of the Archduke's marriage to be well-considered and discussed, as the tranquillity of Christendom and stability of your Majesty's dominions depend upon it. . . .

The Queen's repeated declarations in favour of single blessedness were all the harder to believe when she knew, as well as did her anxious Councillors, that an heir to the

throne would have strengthened her position enormously. Whatever it was, her secret suited England's policy as none of her statesmen at the time could realise. It enabled her to play the lover with impunity until every marriageable prince in Christendom had been tempted with her hand, and until England's two great rivals, France and Spain, were so crippled as to leave the balance of power in Elizabeth's hands. Perhaps it also accounts for her reckless conduct with such licensed favourites as Dudley, presently the Earl of Leicester, whose familiarities with the Queen scandalised people who in those coarser times were not easily shocked.

It was not the first occasion that she had declared her preference for the virgin state when, after her accession, her Councillors begged her to choose a husband. In her brother's reign she was offered—as she told Sir Thomas Pope—"a very honourable marriage," but had begged leave "to remain in that estate I was, which of all others liked me best;" and afterwards, in Mary's reign, when the King of Sweden made his secret proposal for her hand on behalf of his son, she assured her sister that "I so like this estate, as I persuade myself there is not any kind of life comparable unto it."[1] In her very first Parliament, too, she assured the Commons that it would be a full satisfaction both for the memorial of her name and for her glory, if when she died it were engraven upon her marble tomb: "Here lieth Elizabeth, who reigned a Virgin and died a Virgin." Yet the question of a husband became urgent and insistent. "After all," wrote Feria to Philip of Spain in February, "everything depends on the husband she chooses."[2] The hope of the Spaniards, now that Philip himself had been rejected, rested in the candidature of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, and for a time this seemed to be the likeliest match among the foreigners. At home, however, there had lately come to the front the dashing and ambitious son of the late Duke of Northumberland, Lord Robert Dudley, the Queen's Master of the Horse and indispensable companion. Dudley soon completely displaced the old Earl of Arundel and other English nobles who fondly imagined themselves to be in the

[1] "Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth," p. 237.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 314.

running. Elizabeth still had a word of encouragement for each, for it flattered her vanity to be surrounded by such ardent admirers, besides fitting in well with her diplomatic policy of playing off one lover against another, and keeping them all at her feet. Lord Robert, however, was now first favourite, and, as the Spanish ambassador suggests, already regarded by some people as her future husband. The only obstacle, it was believed, was poor Amy Robsart, then said to be ill:

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

April 18, 1559.

. . . During the last few days Lord Robert has come so much into favour that he does whatever he likes with affairs, and it is even said that her Majesty visits him in his chamber day and night. People talk of this so freely that they go so far as to say that his wife has a malady in one of her breasts, and the Queen is only waiting for her to die to marry Lord Robert. I can assure your Majesty that matters have reached such a pass that I have been brought to consider whether it would not be well to approach Lord Robert on your Majesty's behalf, promising him your help and favour and coming to terms with him.

The marriage with the Archduke Ferdinand appears to me not to be a bad expedient, as I see none better than he for matters on this side, and so far as regards the other side your Majesty would do well to attract and confirm him in his friendship, so that he may see how useful it will be for his aggrandizement and stability. . . . The Emperor and his sons apparently will not understand that your Majesty's influence in this matter is so great that it may be said to be in your gift, and it is probable that they have given rise to the same feeling here. To counteract this I think it will be best to buy Ferdinand's friendship with money, as he has none, not only finding him a sum for his coming hither if the affair is carried through, but also a regular payment every year, instead of the

pensions which were paid to these people here, and which have had so little effect, as your Majesty has seen. Besides the ancient treaties between your Majesty's predecessors and the kings of this country your Majesty could also arrange with him, in the form which may seem best to you, to bind himself to remedy and restore religion, to which I cannot persuade myself that your Majesty is indifferent. This appears to me to be the best way for the present; the cheapest and most convenient, and to neglect any effort in this direction would be a great pity. If Ferdinand is a man, backed up as he will be by your Majesty, he will be able not only to reform religion and pacify the country, but, even though the Queen may die, to keep the country in his fist, and, if anything besides God's cause has led me to hope that your Majesty might again get a footing here, it was this. I feel sure that any of your Majesty's affairs will encounter great difficulty in negotiation with the Emperor and his sons, and as I look upon this matter as of the highest importance for your Majesty and your dominions, as well as for God's sake, I wish to leave no stone unturned.

Lord Robert Dudley had played his cards well since Elizabeth made him her Master of the Horse. He was ready ostensibly to support the Austrian match, knowing full well that religious scruples would prevent it from ever taking place. He did not bring his own wife to Court, probably realising that Elizabeth had no use for her. Dudley had married Amy Robsart—heiress and only legitimate child of a Norfolk Knight—eight years before this new reign began, and the disease from which she was now suffering soon gave rise to uglier rumours than those referred to in Feria's last letter. Two of Lady Robert's own letters survive, but they throw little light on her relations with her husband. One, preserved at Longleat, is to a woman tailor, relating to a fashionable costume of the period; the other, which follows, proves, if it may be said to prove anything in that direction, that Dudley could be a considerate master, whatever his

ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER

From a water colour drawing in the British Museum by George Perfect Harding, after an original painting

faults may have been as a husband. The year in which the letter was written is unknown:

LADY ROBERT DUDLEY TO MR. FLOWERDEW.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

Mr. Flowerdew,—

I understand by Grise that you put him in remembrance of what you spoke to me of concerning the going of certain sheep at Siscombe, and although I forgot to move my lord thereof before his departing, he being sore troubled with weighty affairs, and I not being altogether in quiet for his sudden departing, yet notwithstanding, knowing your accustomed friendship towards my lord and me, I neither may nor can deny you that request in my lord's absence of mine own authority, yea and it were a greater matter, as if any good occasion may serve you, so try me; desiring you further that you will make sale of the wool so soon as is possible, although you sell it for vi.'s the stone, or as you would sell for yourself; for my lord so earnestly required me at his departing to see those poor men satisfied as though it had been a matter depending upon life; wherefore I force not to sustain a little loss thereby, to satisfy my lord's desire; and so to send that money to Grise's house to London, by Bridewell, to whom my lord hath given order for the payment thereof. And thus I end, always troubling you, wishing that occasion serve me to requite you; until that time I must pay you with thanks. And so to God I leave you, from Hays, this 7 of August.

Your assured during life,

AMYE DUDLEY.

Elizabeth and Dudley had much in common. They were about the same age, were fellow prisoners in the Tower during the first year of Mary's reign, though it is unlikely that they caught more than a passing glimpse of each other, if so much as that; and neither of them set up to be a paragon either of virtue or piety. His position at Court was only seriously challenged at this period by Sir William

Pickering, a courtier who fled the country in Mary's reign for his share in Wyatt's conspiracy, but won his pardon by double-dealing with the Spaniards. He was a man, according to Paulo Tiepolo, of about thirty-six years of age, "of tall stature, handsome, and very successful with women, for he is said to have enjoyed the intimacy of many and great ones."[1] Pickering returned from the Continent in the spring, and was warmly welcomed for a time by those who could see no good either in the Queen's infatuation for Dudley, or in her marriage with a Catholic prince. His introduction into the Queen's presence was managed while Dudley was away on a deftly managed hunting-trip at Windsor, and it was not long before he succeeded in making some impression upon Elizabeth's susceptible heart :

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

May 10, 1559.

. . . I have not heard that anything more has been done on the other side about the marriage of the Archduke, and not even what your Majesty had arranged in the business. I want the matter pressed so as to make this woman show her hand. Sometimes I think she might consent to it, and at other times that she will not marry, and has some other design. Pickering arrived here on the night of Ascension Day and has been much visited by the Queen's favourites. She saw him secretly two days after his arrival, and yesterday he came to the palace publicly, and remained with her four or five hours. In London they are giving 25 to 100 that he will be King. They tell me Lord Robert is not so friendly with him as he was, and I believe that on the first day that the Queen saw him secretly Lord Robert did not know of it, as he had gone hunting at Windsor. If these things were not of such great importance, and so lamentable, some of them would be very ridiculous.

They are now making fewer presents to the Swedish ambassador, and he is still very constant in

[1] Venetian Papers, Vol. I., pp. 36—37.

giving great gifts to the Queen and her adherents, in order to try and forward the marriage with his master. . . .

I forgot to write to your Majesty that on St. George's Day they gave the Order to four gentlemen, and two vacancies remain to be filled up. Those who received it were the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess of Northampton, who had it before he was attainted, the Earl of Rutland, and Lord Robert. Bedford was much aggrieved that they did not give it to him. He is not such a favourite as was thought. The secretary (Cecil), Bacon, the treasurer of the household, and Lord Robert rule everything.

Meantime, the religion of the country was being gradually, if slowly, revolutionised, Parliament seeing to it that strict legality should characterise every change. The battle round the Act of Royal Supremacy raged for more than two months, Elizabeth being determined not to take her father's old title of "Supreme Head of the Church." "She seriously maintains," wrote Dr. Jewel in one of his letters, "that this honour is due to Christ alone, and cannot belong to any human being soever; besides which, these titles have been so foully contaminated by antichrist, that they can no longer be adopted by any one without impiety."[1] Parliament compromised matters by inventing the phrase, "Only Supreme Governor in the realm as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as in temporal," the famous Act being finally passed on April 29, 1559. "Sensible men," as Professor Maitland writes, "saw that, having the substance, she could afford to waive the name"; which is practically what the Spanish ambassador remarked at the time in writing to the Duke of Alba:

BISHOP QUADRA TO THE DUKE OF ALBA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.

LONDON, *May* 10, 1559.

By the Count's letter to the King you will see the state of things here, which is the most miserable that

[1] "Zurich Letters," First Series, p. 33.

can be conceived. At eight o'clock on Monday the Queen went to Parliament and exactly confirmed what they had adopted as they read it from a book. She only left open for consideration the clause where she is to take the title of head of the Church, and for the present only assumes the style of "Governor." This is said to have been done on the ground that she may marry, and her husband might then take the title. It is only a question of words, as "governor" and "head," after all, mean the same thing. Yesterday they took the sacrament away from the palace chapel, and some sort of Mass was performed in English, as they are doing in many parish churches. The Bishops are ordered not to leave London without the Queen's consent. They say the oath will at once be proffered to them, which they will not take, and that they will thereupon be all deprived at one blow, and the new Bishops put in their seats. The decree is to the effect that any person who shall oppose the doctrine prescribed by the Queen shall lose his patrimonial property (salaries and ecclesiastical revenues being confiscated for a refusal to take the oath) for the first offence, and the second offence is punishable by death.[1]

The Earl of Sussex pronounced an harangue in the upper house exhorting the Queen to uphold this law, and saying how vain would be all their efforts if the new enactment were not kept inviolate. One of the members of the lower house compared the Queen to Moses, saying that she had been sent by God to lead the people out of bondage. The heretics of our own times have never been such spoilt children of the devil as these are, and the persecutors of the early church were surely not impious enough to dare to pass such unjust acts as these. To force a man to

[1] Quadra is not strictly accurate. The penalties involved loss of office and benefits for the first offence, and forfeiture of goods for the second. It was only if the deprived clergy chose to attack the supremacy that they were liable, on the third conviction, to the penalties of treason.

do a thing whether he likes it or not has at all events some form, however unjust, but to force him to see a thing in the same light as the King sees it is absurd, and has no form either just or unjust; and yet such is the ignorance here that they pass such a thing as this. Religion here now is simply a question of policy, and in a hundred thousand ways they let us see that they neither love nor fear us.

That was the Catholic point of view. The Protestant standpoint may be seen in the following letter from Dr. John Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, to the Swiss Reformer who sheltered many of the English exiles in Zurich during Mary's reign:

JOHN PARKHURST TO HENRY BULLINGER.

["*Zurich Letters*," First Series.]

LONDON, *May* 21, 1559.

Jewel and I received your very courteous letter at the beginning of April, by which I perceived your intention of sending your son Rodolph, at some appointed time, to improve his education at the university of Oxford. This, however, as things now are, I would not advise you to do; for it is as yet a den of thieves, and of those who hate the light. There are but few gospellers there, and many papists. But when it shall have been reformed, which we both hope and desire may ere long be the case, let your Rodolph at length come over. . . .

The Book of Common Prayer, set forth in the time of King Edward, is now again in general use throughout England,[1] and will be everywhere, in spite of the struggles and opposition of the pseudo-bishops. The Queen is not willing to be called the *head* of the church of England, although this title has been offered her; but she willingly accepts the title of *governor*, which amounts to the same thing. The

[1] By the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer passed by this parliament.

pope is again driven from England, to the great regret of the bishops and the whole tribe of shavelings. The Mass is abolished. The parliament broke up on the eighth of May. . . . The bishops are in future to have no palaces, estates, or country seats. The present owners are to enjoy for life those they are now in possession of. They are worthy of being suspended, not only from their office, but from a halter; for they are as so many Davuses, throwing everything into confusion. The monasteries will be dissolved in a short time.

I cannot now write more, for within four days I have to contend in my native place,[1] both from the pulpit and in mutual conference, with those horrid monsters of Arianism; for which end I have read with much attention your very learned treatise on both natures in Christ. I hope to come sufficiently prepared to the contest, and so to overcome the enemies of Christ. Christ lives, He reigns, and will reign, in spite of Arians, Anabaptists, and papists. . . . My wife salutes you, your wife, sons and daughters, and all friends. She very frequently falls into tears when any mention is made of the ladies of Zurich. . . .

In haste.

Most entirely yours,
JOHN PARKHURST.

In another letter of the same date Parkhurst writes of the "pseudo-bishops" that "they are now abhorred both by God and man, and never creep out into public unless they are compelled to do so, lest perchance a tumult should arise among the people. Many call them *butchers* to their face." It must be remembered that this was written in Protestant London, where the Smithfield burnings were still fresh in the citizens' minds, and the end of the papal and Spanish *régime* was welcomed with greater enthusiasm than anywhere else in England, save perhaps in some of the seaports, which Feria always regarded as among the most

[1] Guildford, Surrey.

corrupt places in the kingdom. In the less densely populated districts, especially north of the Humber, the Old Faith and the old feudalism still held their ground. The suave Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, who succeeded Feria, affected to view the religious settlement with greater tolerance than did his predecessor when discussing the changes with Cecil. His smoother methods of diplomacy are apparent in his account of the reception of the Emperor's ambassador, Baron Rabenstayn, whose delicate mission it was to negotiate a marriage between Elizabeth and the Emperor's younger son, the Archduke Charles, Ferdinand's chances being regarded at this time as hopeless on account of his irreconcilable religious views. Charles was now offered as "younger and more likely to please her":

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *May* 30, 1559.

. . . On Friday morning Baron Rabenstayn, the Emperor's ambassador, arrived here and came to lodge in this house, which belongs to the Count de Feria, where all honour and good treatment are shown him. He besought an audience through Chaloner and the lords of the Council, and I solicited audience for myself to accompany him and give him what aid I could, as your Majesty commands in your letter of 17th instant. We were received on Sunday at one, and found the Queen very fine in her presence-chamber, looking on at the dancing. She kept us there a long while, and then entered her room, and I presented your Majesty's letter, and asked her agreeably with what had previously been said on your Majesty's behalf, to consider how suitable in all respects would be her marriage with a son of the Emperor, with which object the ambassador came, and I begged her to hear him and decide the matter with the prudence and wisdom which God had given her, and which were so great that I had no doubt she would easily discern how advisable such a match would be. I did not name the archduke, because, as

I suspected she would reply excluding both of them, I did not wish to give her an opportunity of doing so. She at once began, as I feared, to talk about not wishing to marry, and wanted to reply in that sense, but I cut short the colloquy by saying that I did not seek an answer, and only begged of her to hear the ambassador and reply to him when she thought proper. I then stood aside a little and left her alone with the German.

Whilst he was with her I took Cecil apart and talked to him about this business and others to see what he would say. I understood from him, although not by his words, that the Queen would refuse the match with one of the Emperor's sons, thinking that the Archduke Ferdinand would be proposed, as he is the only one that these people have any knowledge of, and they have quite made up their minds that he would upset their heresy. He then began to relate the various offers of marriage that had been made, and wanted to draw me out about some of them, such as that of the Duke de Nemours and those of Englishmen. I told him my dispassionate judgment of them, and it ended in his wanting to satisfy me about your Majesty's offer. He said that if it had not been for the impediment of affinity the Queen would have married your Majesty, but the matter involved religious questions such as the dispensory power of the Pope, which it would be fruitless now to discuss as the offer had fallen through. I purposely avoided answering him, although really I was glad to have the opportunity of talking over these matters with him, to dissipate the suspicion which I think he and his friends have that they have incurred your Majesty's anger by their change of religion. I therefore answered him without any reproach or complaint, and only said that what had been done in the kingdom certainly seemed to me very grave, severe and ill-timed, but that I hoped in God, and, if He would some day give us a council of bishops, or a good Pope who would reform the

customs of the clergy, and the abuses of the court of Rome, which apparently had scandalized the provinces, all the evil would be remedied, and God would not allow so noble and christian a nation as this to be separated in faith from the rest of Christendom, to its grave peril. With regard to your Majesty's marriage I said that God had ordered all for the best in this great and weighty matter, and I then turned the conversation again to the marriages. He told me the Queen had been informed that the Archduke [Charles] had a head larger than that of the Earl of Bedford, and was unfit to govern, and other things showing rather more openly than hitherto a desire that the Queen should marry.

The ambassador ended his interview with the Queen, quite despairing of the business, but dismissed with great compliments and polite phrases. When I saw this I returned to her and asked her pardon, but said your Majesty's earnest desire to see this marriage brought about made me bold, as I had good reason to be, and I begged her to consider that in a matter of this gravity touching the welfare and tranquillity of their kingdoms, and those of their neighbours, kings and queens could not always follow their own desires, to the prejudice of those of their subjects, without doing great wrong and grievous sin, and therefore she should not consult her own inclination about her marriage, but should look at the ruin that would come to her country by her doing so. I said that when she had resolved how to act in this case she should treat of her intention frankly and sincerely with the Emperor in order that no cause of offence should be given to him. She knew, I said, how honestly and kindly the worthy Germans negotiated, and should, in order to come to a proper decision, truly inform herself of what it behoved her to know, as I heard that they had represented the archduke to her as a young monster and the contrary of what he is, for although both brothers were comely, this one who was offered to her now was the younger

and the more likely to please her than the other who had been spoken of before.

I thought best to speak in this way, as I had understood in my talk with Cecil that it was Ferdinand they dreaded, and I wanted to see how she would answer about the other one, and so to clear the ground and find out whether all this means a desire not to marry at all, or simply to avoid a Catholic husband, which in my opinion is the principal object of the Queen and her associates in heresy. She was all attention at this and asked me of whom I was speaking. I told her the younger brother and not Ferdinand, of whom the Emperor thought he could not avail himself for this purpose, whereas Charles possessed extremely good and fitting qualities which I recounted at length. She was a long while demurring and doubting and telling me she was sure I was mistaken, as they had spoken to her only of Ferdinand. When she was quite satisfied about this by your Majesty's letter (whereat, as I thought, she was pleased) she went back again to her nonsense and said she would rather be a nun than marry without knowing with whom, and on the faith of portrait painters. We continued at this for some time wasting words, and at last she said she was resolved not to marry except to a man of worth whom she had seen and spoken to, and she asked me whether I thought the Archduke Charles would come to this country that she might see him. I said that I could well believe that he would do so willingly, young man as he was, but I thought his father would not consent to it, not on account of the danger, of which there was none, but for his own dignity's sake, and that of the business itself. She repeated this several times. I do not know whether she is jesting, which is quite possible, but I really believe she would like to arrange for this visit in disguise. I turned it to a joke and said we had better discuss the substance of the business, which was, after all, the "yes" or "no" as to her own wishes, and that with regard

to her satisfaction with the individual, I would undertake that he would not displease her, and that the archduke had everything to gain by showing himself. Finally it was settled that she should call the German back again, and tell him that at my prayer she was pleased to depute some of her Council to hear his proposal and to give her their advice, although she was resolved not to trust painters, but was determined to see and know the man who was to be her husband. We thereupon left: the German very well pleased that the affair had been set on foot again after he had been, as he thought, dismissed. . . .

Although what your Majesty has often heard from the Count de Feria in respect to the marriage is no doubt highly probable, yet I cannot help thinking that, so clearly is the need for her to marry being daily more understood by herself and her advisers, notwithstanding her disinclination to say yes, I need not despair of her listening to the proposal, at all events until other ambassadors arrive to engage the attention of her advisers, for afterwards she will not scruple to serve them in the same way she is serving this one. The whole business for these people is to avoid any engagement that will upset their wickedness. I believe that when once they are satisfied about this they will not be averse to Charles. I am not sure about her, for I do not understand her. Amongst other qualities which she says her husband must possess is that he should not sit at home all day amongst the cinders, but should in time of peace keep himself employed in warlike exercises.

On the same day another long letter was sent abroad from London, describing the reception of the splendid embassy from France, headed by the Constable, the Duc de Montmorenci, dispatched hither for the purpose of receiving the Queen's ratification of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. The letter was written by that excellent gossip Il Schifanoya, whose correspondence, discovered by Rawdon Brown in the

State Archives of Mantua, supplies us with many of the most picturesque details of English Court life at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign :

IL SCHIFANOYA TO THE CASTELLAN OF MANTUA.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. VII.]

LONDON, *May* 30, 1559.

On the 23rd instant, the French Ambassadors arrived here. They were received at Dover by Lord Cobham, with a very honourable company. On the morrow he took them to his house, and entertained them with hunting and hawking for two days. They then went to Gravesend, where they found the Admiral with another company of lords and gentlemen, and a fair preparation of barges, to take them by the Thames to London. On arriving at the Tower they found awaiting them the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, the Marquess of Northampton, my Lord Robert [Dudley], her Majesty's Master of the Horse, with many other lords, earls, and barons, and in short all the nobility of the Court, well mounted and apparelled. The Duke and the Marquess placed M. de Montmorenci between them, the rest doing the like by the others according to their rank, and proceeded along the wide street of Cheapside to their lodgings in the houses near St. Paul's belonging to the Bishop of London, the Dean, Master Peter Vannes, and other gentlemen thereabouts. The Ambassadors were preceded by a great number of their own gentlemen and of Englishmen, there being a great concourse of people in the streets, though it rained a little. On dismounting they found their lodgings excellently provided with convenient rooms and provisions for making good cheer.

On the morrow, Wednesday the 24th, after dinner, accompanied *ut supra*, they went to the Court at Whitehall Palace, where the Queen now resides, and having entered the great hall on the ground floor, hung with very choice tapestries, with the canopy,

throne, and royal cushions, they were received by the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Steward, with all the rest of the Lords of the Privy Council, and mounting the stairs they went to kiss [hands] and do reverence to the Queen, who received them very joyfully and graciously, going to meet them as far as the guard chamber at the head of the stairs; and being conducted to the presence chamber, they presented their credentials, and explained their embassy, everybody standing. After conversing for an hour her Majesty withdrew, and they were taken to the Park of the said Palace to see a pair of bucks killed, one by dogs, the other by archers, very much to their diversion till the hour for supper, to which the Queen had invited them. Meanwhile a sumptuous feast was being prepared in the garden of the said place under the long and wide gallery on the ground floor, which was all hung with gold and silver brocade, and divided into three apartments, in the centre of which was the table prepared for her Majesty, and at a short distance from it another for the Ambassadors. There was also a table fifty-four paces in length for the other lords, gentlemen, and ladies. The whole gallery was closed in with wreaths of flowers and leaves of most beautiful designs, which gave a very sweet odour and were marvellous to behold, having been prepared in less than two evenings so as to keep them fresh.

On returning from the hunt at 6 p.m. they entered the garden by a private gate, where they were met by her Majesty, dressed entirely in purple velvet, with so much gold and so many pearls and jewels that it added much to her beauty. She took M. de Montmorenci with her right hand and M. de Vielleville with the left, and they walked in the private orchard for more than a full hour, her Majesty speaking with them most sweetly and familiarly in French, as readily as she does Italian, Latin, and Greek, all which tongues she uses at pleasure, and in so loud a tone as to be heard by everybody. From

what I myself heard, she discoursed about her tribulations in past times, saying that if the love which the people bore her had not been so great, they [the late sovereigns ?] would have put her to death when they placed her in the Tower; and she thanked God, &c.

The supper hour having arrived, the trumpets sounded, and her Majesty went to the door of the gallery, which was however an artificial one made of flowers, leaves, and roses. In the two corners of the gallery were two semicircular cupboards, laden with most precious and costly drinking cups of gold and of rock crystal and other jewels. The Queen, having washed her hands, and being at table under her canopy, insisted on having M. de Montmorenci at her little table, which stood crosswise at the head of the other tables. On the same platform, at the second table, the other two Ambassadors were seated, with the younger son of the Constable. At the large table all the rest of the French lords and gentlemen sat on one side, and on the other all the ladies, of whom there was no small number, and who required so much space on account of the farthingales they wore that there was not room for all; so part of the Privy Chamber ate on the ground on the rushes, being excellently served by lords and cavaliers, who gave them courage and company at their repast. The banquet was wonderful for large and excellent joints, but the delicacies and cleanliness customary in Italy were wanting. It lasted for two hours, with music of several sorts. After supper, the tables being removed, they danced till the eleventh hour of the night, and when her Majesty retired everybody went to their lodgings.

Next day they returned to the Court in full dress with the collar of St. Michael, being preceded by the captains and others, all in pompous array, to take the oath. They went into the chapel of the Palace, where, in presence of the Queen, M. de Montmorenci promised, swore, &c., and afterwards the other two

(Ambassadors) did the same, with the ceremonies, &c. Montmorenci swore twice, once for France, and again for Scotland; and he offered to take the Communion, that being Corpus Christi Day, which festival was celebrated all over the world, except in England, but her Majesty did not wish it; so they were not much edified by this omission, or by seeing the people working all over London, and the shops open on that day. They remained all that day at the Court, and dined and supped with the Queen, not in the garden, but in the large wing of the Palace, and being seen to do so publicly, they were honoured by everybody.

It was arranged for the morrow to go on a pleasure excursion to Hampton Court, to see that stupendous place, which is so replete with every convenience, and then in the evening they were to lodge at Richmond, but they were disturbed and kept indoors by the coming of the hostages on that day, they not having been able to cross the Channel all together from Boulogne and Calais, owing to the diversity of the winds. Next day, Saturday, the Ambassadors went to present them [the hostages], and at the same time to take leave to depart on the following day; and so all of them departed, M. de Noailles, brother of the Bishop, who is Ambassador at Venice, and the hostages remaining. They were accompanied to Gravesend and the seaside by many persons, and from what I hear they were very well satisfied both with the kingdom and their reception.

An Ambassador from the Emperor arrived here two days ago, and had audience yesterday. Many say he is come to treat the marriage with Prince Ferdinand, and that a greater personage will follow with precious gifts, should the reply to this one be hopeful. He came postwise, and is lodged at Durham Place. [Jane] Dormer, Countess de Feria,[1] also lodges in

[1] Jane Dormer, the beautiful daughter of Sir William Dormer, and favourite maid-of-honour of Mary I., had been married by Feria when Spanish Ambassador in England in 1558. The Countess

the same place; she keeps table and house there with her mother Mistress Clarentius, and the Bishop of Aquila, who remained here as Ambassador for King Philip after the departure of the Count de Feria. The Count departed a fortnight ago, and it has not yet been heard what present the Queen made him at his departure, saving that he asked of her as a special favour, instead of gifts, a passport for passage to Flanders of all the monks, friars, and nuns now here, who were required to renounce their profession, swear against the Pope, and observe the articles lately enacted against the Christian and Catholic Church, besides being expelled and driven out of their monasteries and convents, had they been men to consent to this, but they had determined to die rather than change their purpose.

The Queen did not act thus with the French Lords, to whom she made gifts more than splendid, viz. To M. de Montmorenci: a tankard and bason of gold of the value of 1,400 [crowns], equivalent to 5,600 "di questi" [English crowns ?]; 15 cups of silver gilt with 5 covers, worth 700 [crowns] = 2,800; two dozen spoons and forks of silver, gilt and worked superbly; two of the best and most beautiful hackneys that were in her stall; divers dogs—mastiffs, great and small, hounds (*scureiri*), and setters—a quantity of every sort. To M. de Vielleville: the same [articles], but of less value, and without spoons, "pironi," hackneys, or dogs. To the brother of M. de Montmorenci: most valuable clothes, which had belonged to King Edward her brother, and suitable to his person, he being of the same age. To all the principal gentlemen: a chain of gold each, according to their qualities.

I have nothing else to tell you, save that, with regard to religion, they live in all respects in the Lutheran fashion in all the churches of London, except St. Paul's, which still keeps firm in its former state

remained at Durham Place after her husband's departure until his kinsman, Don Juan de Ayala, arrived to escort her to Flanders.

until the day of St. John the Baptist (24th June), when the period prescribed by Parliament expires, the Act being in the press, and soon about to appear; but the Council nevertheless sent twice or thrice to summon the Bishop of London [Edmund Bonner], to give him orders to remove the service of the Mass and of the Divine office in that church; but he answered them intrepidly, "I possess three things, soul, body, and property; of the two last you can dispose at your pleasure, but as to the soul, God alone can command me." He remains constant about body and property, and again to-day he has been called to the Council, but I do not yet know what they said to him. All the Bishops are likewise disposed to await their sentence and decision, and many other prelates after them; which sentence and decision will soon be known. In the interval the false preachers do not fail to preach publicly in all the churches, demanding their revenues. IL SCHIFANOYA.

Dr. Jewel takes up the story with his letter on the religious situation not only in England but also in Scotland, where John Knox, newly returned from the Continent, was infusing fresh life into the Scottish Reformation movement and winning for Calvinism what Professor Maitland describes as the most durable of its triumphs:

JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

["*Zurich Letters*," First Series.]

LONDON, *June*, 1559.

And what, after all, can I write to you? For we are all of us hitherto as strangers at home. Return then, you will say, to Zurich. Most earnestly do I wish, my father, that this may some time be possible: for, so far as I can see, there is no hope of your ever coming to England. O Zurich! Zurich! how much oftener do I now think of thee than ever I thought of England when I was at Zurich! But though, as I observed, we are yet strangers in our own country, we hear sometimes ineffable and inexplicable things. Mischief, however, is often better kept at home.

As to religion, it has been effected, I hope, under good auspices, that it shall be restored to the same state as it was during your latest residence among us, under Edward. But, as far as I can perceive at present, there is not the same alacrity among our friends, as there lately was among the papists. So miserably is it ordered that falsehood is armed, while truth is not only unarmed, but also frequently offensive. The scenic apparatus of divine worship is now under agitation; and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at, are now seriously and solemnly entertained by certain persons, (for *we* are not consulted,) as if the christian religion could not exist without something tawdry. Our minds indeed are not sufficiently disengaged to make these fooleries of much importance. Others are seeking after a *golden*, or as it rather seems to me, a *leaden* mediocrity; and are crying out that the half is better than the whole.

Some of our friends are marked out for bishops; Parker for Canterbury, Cox for Norwich, Barlow for Chichester, Scory for Hereford, and Grindal for London; for Bonner is ordered to vacate his see. When they will take possession, I know not. From this flowering I can easily guess beforehand, as you do of wine, what kind of a vintage it will be. Our enemies in the mean time are watching their opportunity, and promise themselves that these things cannot last.

In Scotland we hear that there have been some disturbances, I know not of what kind, respecting matters of religion; that the nobles have driven out the monks, and taken possession of the monasteries; that some French soldiers of the garrison have been slain in a riot; and that the Queen was so incensed as to proclaim the banishment of the preacher Knox by sound of horn, according to the usual custom in Scotland, when they mean to send any one into exile. What has become of him, I know not. . . .

Knox continued to preach in defiance of the Queen-Regent, Mary of Guise, and her French soldiers. Images were

smashed, churches were wrecked, and by the end of the month each side, Catholic and Calvinistic, had an army in the field, the party of the Reformation being as eager to expel the French as the English Protestants had been to shake off the Spaniards. The French were equally determined to remain, for when Mary Stuart married the Dauphin in April, 1558, she had signed a secret treaty by which, in the event of her death without issue, Scotland was to become a French possession, and all rights which she had or might have to the crown of England were to follow suit. Openly, like her boy husband, the Dauphin, and her father-in-law, Henry II., who had long cast covetous eyes both on Scotland and England, she had pledged her word of honour to preserve inviolate the laws, liberties and privileges of her native land.

This treachery of the secret pledge is an ugly blot on Mary Stuart's escutcheon, but it must be remembered that she was only in her early girlhood at the time, and entirely under the influence of her uncles—especially the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine—who had brought her up from childhood, since her betrothal to the Dauphin in the summer of 1548. Of Scotland itself she doubtless retained but a hazy recollection, and must have known that her mother, as Queen Regent, was also acting in accordance with the Guise's ambitious policy. "The young Queen—then only in her sixteenth year—probably signed these deeds," as Dr. Hay Fleming says, "without fully realising their import. If so, her heedlessness gives a rude shock to the panegyrics of those apologists who speak of her precocity as phenomenal."[1] She was merely a puppet in the hands of Henry II., too, when, upon the death of Mary I., she quartered the arms of England with those of France and Scotland. The English heralds reported upon this as follows:

THE HERALDS TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[Strype's "*Annals of the Reformation.*"]

June, 1559.

It may please your grace, that upon good deliberation, we, Garter and Clarencieux, with others of the

[1] "Mary Queen of Scots," p. 24.

office, have perused this escutcheon of arms delivered by your grace; and we find the same prejudicial to the Queen's Majesty, her state and dignity; and that it doth not appertain to any foreign prince, what marriage soever he hath made with England, to quarter, bear, or use the arms of England otherwise than in *pale*, as in token of marriage. And albeit James, late Scottish King, grandfather to the Scottish Queen that now is, married with one of the daughters of King Henry VII., the said Scottish Queen, being but one of the collaterals, cannot, nor ought not, to bear any escutcheon of the arms of England: nor yet the Dauphin, her husband, in the right of her, or otherwise. Furthermore, we find the said escutcheon falsely marshalled, contrary to all law and order of arms.

Hence the appearance upon the scene of a new lover for Elizabeth in James Hamilton, third Earl of Arran, heir of the Duke of Châtelherault, who was next in the order of succession to the Scottish throne, and had been forced to abdicate the regency in 1554 in favour of Mary of Guise. Both Mary Stuart and her husband were known to be delicate. In the event of her death without issue and the marriage of Arran with the Queen of England, who could prevent the two kingdoms from becoming united? Dr. Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, discloses some inkling of this scheme in his next letter to his master:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *July* 1, 1559.

About three days since, Thomas Randolph, brother of the Randolph, one of your Majesty's servants, arrived here from France, and at once went to see the Queen. He told her how the Dauphin had ordered the arms of England to be emblazoned with his own in many places, and it was said that he would shortly proclaim himself King of England. Randolph says that after the Queen had heard all

about it, she told him that she would take a husband who would give the King of France some trouble, and do him more harm than he expected. She gave him 200 ducats and ordered him to return to France immediately. He was to leave last night. I hear that the Duke of Châtelherault [Arran] is in England and very near London. The day before yesterday Cecil, after having been in and out several times with advices for the Queen, left suddenly with only two servants. I have been unable to find out whither he has gone, although I have tried to do so in several ways, but the accounts all differ. I am sure he has gone to speak with the Duke, and we shall soon have news of this marriage, for it is not to be believed that they would have received the Duke at such a time as this, and endanger their friendship with the French, unless the thing were settled, and he was to be something more than a guest.

Both Cecil and Elizabeth saw the advantage of moving in the matter, either by way of matrimony, or of helping Arran as judiciously as possible to stir up strife in Scotland. At that time the Earl, who had served as Captain of the Scots Guards in France, was in hiding, his Calvinistic leanings having caused the French King to order his capture, alive or dead. Three days before Quadra wrote the foregoing letter Throckmorton sent a messenger to Cecil, who put the matter in a nutshell:

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Forbes's "*Full View of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*"]

PARIS, *June* 28, 1559.

Sir, it may like you to understand that this bearer, Sandy Whitlow, is repairing through England into Scotland, and for the service he has done and may do, I thought good to recommend him unto you, so that he may find some favour and benefit for his good zeal and service done to the Queen's Majesty. He

is, as I understand, in great credit in Scotland with all the Protestants of all estates, and (I think) will be as meet an instrument to advance the Queen's Majesty's service in Scotland as may be found. Marry, it shall be good that you understand aforetime, about the death of the Cardinal of St. Andrews, there hath been unkindness between this said bearer and the Duke [of Châtelherault] the late Governor of Scotland; so he is not the best to deal with the said Governor, but rather with the principal parties which attempt the broil in Scotland for matters of religion. He seems to me heartily and earnestly to wish that this may be the means to unite England and Scotland together: saying, there is no foundation nor league durable nor available, but in God's cause: "And now," saith he, "you have a Queen, and we our prince the Earl of Arran, marriable both, and the chief upholders of God's religion; for which cause there be many that do conspire against them both." The whole nation of the Scots do say that the Earl of Arran must needs be the worst Frenchman that ever came out of Scotland; so unkindly have they handled him in France. And further to incense the French against the Scots, there hath chanced since the Earl of Arran's departure a brawl between certain Frenchmen and the men at arms of the said Earl of Arran's band; so as there hath been slain one of the said Earl of Arran's band, and four or five of the Frenchmen.

It shall be, in my poor opinion, expedient that with as convenient speed as may be you advertise either Sir James Croft or Sir Henry Percy, that the French King hath lately sent certain commissioners to apprehend the Earl of Arran, with great severity and extremity, to bring him either alive or dead. Whereupon, the said Earl of Arran, to save his life, is fled, no man can tell whither: and since his departure great ungentleness and extremity hath been shown, not only to his band, but to all such as were thought to favour him: inasmuch as, contrary to

the old league between France and Scotland, the band of men-at-arms of Scotsmen, which by the said league were ever under a Scottish Captain, are now either utterly ceased, or appointed to be under the leadership of the Duke of Longueville. And further it may be said that when M. de Mompesat, one of the commissioners to bring the said Earl of Arran, went to excuse himself to the Queen-Dauphiness for obeying the French King's commandment in executing such a matter against her kinsman the Earl of Arran, the said Queen-Dauphiness made answer that he could not do her a greater pleasure than to treat the Earl of Arran as an arrant traitor. Sir, methinketh, if these matters could be speedily brought to the ears of the Earl of Arran's father and kinsfolk, and generally to all the Protestants of Scotland, it should serve well to the advancement of the Queen's Majesty's service. . . .

Thomas Randolph, who had been sent by Cecil to keep in touch with Arran, had succeeded in conveying him, disguised as a merchant, to Zurich, where he visited Peter Martyr and other reformers. He started from Lausanne for England on July 6, travelling incognito as M. de Beaufort. The news that Henry II. had been mortally wounded at the tournament in Paris on June 30, held in celebration of the peace of Cateau-Cambresis, and the marriage alliance with Philip II., may have hastened his departure. A new situation had now arisen in France which pleased Elizabeth mightily. Mary Stuart, it is true, was Queen Consort of France as soon as Henry died of his wound on July 10, but her immature husband, Francis II.—two years younger than herself—was King in name only, the real rulers being the Guises, who, in taking over the reins of government, created a France which, as Elizabeth knew, was no longer united. It was not difficult to encourage revolt in Scotland, where the Lords of the Congregation were already up in arms against Mary of Guise. Quadra realised the danger both to the Spanish and the Catholic causes, and did not disguise his fears in his next letter to Philip II.:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *July* 12, 1559.

. . . I have since received another letter from your Majesty, dated the 9th instant, instructing me what to do when Don Juan de Ayala arrives, which instructions shall be carried out unless in view of the death of the King of France (of which the Queen received news to-night), Don Juan should think well to suspend action until receiving fresh orders from your Majesty. The joy of the Queen was very great, and she at once sent the news to the Emperor's ambassador. I conversed yesterday with some of the Frenchmen here, and they confess that the Scottish affair is lost. They have news that the Queen Regent is in a corner awaiting succour, that they have attacked and taken the town of St. John (Perth) and that the whole country is up. The question is not religion but rebellion, and, the King being dead, the remedy is difficult, particularly as things here, religous and otherwise, will get much worse if they are allowed to have their way. I cannot help telling your Majesty how greatly many of the godly here, and persons well versed in public affairs, are astonished to see that this Queen is allowed to proceed with her designs, to the manifest peril to the faith and the neighbouring kingdoms. In six months she has revived heresy and encourages it everywhere to such an extent that it is recovering furiously all the credit it had lost for years past. I well know that this question will be duly considered in your Majesty's council, and I only venture to say what I do in order that your Majesty may know the opinion of the people here. At one time they expected the remedy from your Majesty's hands, but had recently turned towards the King of France for it. Now that he fails them it seems that all must fall on your Majesty's shoulders again, although at the same time, his death greatly facilitates redress, as no other parties exist now in the country but Catholics and heretics, and no dependence will be placed on the

[*Photo, Mansell*

FRANCIS II. OF FRANCE

After the portrait by François Clouet at Hampton Court

new King of France for the present, your Majesty being now the only hope of the godly and dread of the wicked, if the latter are not allowed time to meet and weaken the Catholic party . . . .

Philip had too many ecclesiastical troubles of his own to interfere just then either in English or Scottish affairs, even on behalf of the religion of which he was the avowed champion. Quadra therefore had good reason for bitterness and despair as he stood helplessly watching the undoing of the Old Faith in the land which had so lately been little more than a Spanish possession:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *July* 27, 1559.

I have lost all hope in the affairs of this woman. She is convinced of the soundness of her unstable power, and will only see her error when she is irretrievably lost. In religious matters she has been saturated ever since she was born in a bitter hatred to our faith, and her one object is to destroy it. If your Majesty were to give her life and all in it, as you did once before, she would never be more friendly than she is now, and she would, if she had the power, sow heresy broadcast in all your Majesty's dominions to-day, and set them ablaze without compunction. Besides this, her language (learnt from Italian heretic friars who brought her up) is so shifty that it is the most difficult thing in the world to negotiate with her. With her all is falsehood and vanity.

Scottish affairs were equally gloomy from the Catholic standpoint, though needless to say such men as Dr. Sandys were as jubilant on that account as Quadra was dismayed.

JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

["*Zurich Letters*," First Series.]

LONDON, *August* 1, 1559.

. . . Everything is in a ferment in Scotland. Knox, surrounded by a thousand followers, is holding assemblies throughout the whole kingdom. The old

Queen (Regent) has been compelled to shut herself up in garrison. The nobility, with united hearts and hands, are restoring religion throughout the country, in spite of all opposition. All the monasteries are everywhere levelled with the ground: the theatrical dresses, the sacrilegious chalices, the idols, the altars, are consigned to the flames; not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left. What do you ask for? You have often heard of *drinking like a Scythian;* but this is *churching it like a Scythian.* The King of France that now is, styles himself King of Scotland, and in case of anything happening to our Queen, (which God forefend!) heir of England. You must not be surprised if our people are indignant at this; and how the matter will at length turn out, God only can determine. A common enemy perhaps, as is sometimes the case, may be the occasion of reconciling with us our neighbour Scotland; in which event, although the marriage [Elizabeth's] should also take place,—but I will not prognosticate. Master Heton salutes you, and that not less affectionately than if you were his father. Some of us are appointed to the bishopricks; Cox to Ely, Scory to Hereford, Allen to Rochester, Grindal to London, Barlow to Chichester, and I, the least of the apostles, to Salisbury. But this burden I have positively determined to shake off. In the meantime there is a dismal solitude in our Universities. The young men are flying about in all directions, rather than come to an agreement in matters of religion.

But my companions are waiting for me, and calling to me to set off. Farewell, therefore, my father, and my pride. . . .

Yours every way most attached.

JOHN JEWEL.

Knox was adding fuel to the fire with both hands in Scotland, but he was the wrong man to encourage Elizabeth's open assistance, and he went the wrong way to work. He knew, as he informed Cecil, that his name had become odious to her through his "First Blast" against feminine rule. As

she took no notice of a message which he sent to her through Cecil, disclaiming any intention of offending Elizabeth herself, he wrote her a letter direct which was hardly calculated to smooth her maiden majesty's ruffled feathers—if indeed it ever reached her. Cecil is said to have withheld Knox's letters from his irascible mistress, who might only vent her wrath upon his own devoted head. Possibly he deemed it prudent to run no risk in this case:

JOHN KNOX TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

EDINBURGH, *July* 20, 1559.

To the virtuous and godly Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, &c., John Knox desireth the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.

As your grace's displeasure against me, most unjustly conceived, hath been and is to my wretched heart a burden grievous and almost intolerable: so is the testimony of a clean conscience to me a stay and uphold that in desperation I sink not. Maliciously or of purpose, I never offended your grace nor your realm. I cannot deny writing a book against the usurped authority and unjust regiment of women, nor am minded to retract any principal point thereof, till truth and verity further appear. But why your grace, or these that favour the liberty of England, should be offended with the author, I can perceive no just occasion, for my book touches not your grace's person in especial, nor is it prejudicial to the liberty of the realm, if the time and my writing be indifferently considered. How could I be enemy to your grace's person? For deliverance whereof, I did more study, and enterprised farther, than any of those that now accuse me. And as concerning your regiment, how could, or can, I envy that which most I have trusted, and for the which (as oblivion will suffer) I render thanks unfeignedly unto God? which is that it hath pleased Him of His eternal goodness, to exalt your head (which . . . . times was in danger to the manifestation of His glory and extirpation of

idolatry.) For any other offence against England, I will let moderate and indifferent men judge between me and my accusers. To wit, which of the parties do most hurt the liberty of England—I that affirm that no woman may be exalted above any realm to make the liberties of the same thrall to a strange, proud and cruel nation; or they that approve whatsoever pleases princes for the time? If I were as well disposed to accuse, as some of them (to their own shame) have declared themselves, I nothing doubt but that in few words I should let reasonable men understand that some that this day lowly crouch to your grace, and labour to make me odious in your eyes, did in your adversity neither show themselves faithful friends to your grace, nor yet so loving and careful over their native country as now they would be esteemed.

Nothing in my book is or can be prejudicial to your grace's just regiment, provided ye be not found ungrateful to God. Ungrateful ye shall be proved in presence of His throne (howsoever that flatteries justify your fact), if ye transfer the glory of that honour in which ye now stand to any other thing, than to the dispensation of His mercy, which only maketh that lawful to your grace which nature and law deny to any woman. Neither would I that your grace should fear that this your humiliation before God should in any case infirm or weaken your just and lawful authority before men. Nay Madam, such unfeigned confession of God's benefits received, shall be the establishment of the same not only to yourself but also to your seed and posterity; where contrariwise, a proud conceit and elevation of yourself shall be the occasion that your reign shall be unstable, troublesome and short. God is witness that unfeignedly I love and reverence your grace, yea, I pray that your reign may be long, prosperous and quiet, and that for the quietness which Christ's members, before persecuted, have received under you. But yet if I should flatter your grace, I were

no friend, but a deceiving traitor. And therefore of conscience I am compelled to say, that neither the consent of people, the process of time, nor multitude of men, can establish a law which God shall approve, but whatsoever he approveth (by His eternal word) that shall be approved ; and whatsoever He condemns shall be condemned, though all men in earth would hazard the justification of the same. And therefore, Madam, the only way to retain and to keep those benefits of God abundantly poured now of late days upon you, and upon your realm, is, unfeignedly to render unto God, to His mercy and undeserved grace, the whole glory of this your exaltation. Forget your birth and all title which thereupon doth hinge, and consider deeply how for fear of your life ye did decline from God, and bow to idolatry. Let it not appear a small offence in your eyes, that ye have declined from Christ Jesus in the day of His battle, neither yet would I that ye should esteem that mercy to be vulgar and common which ye have received : to wit, that God hath covered your former offence, hath preserved you when ye were most unthankful, and in the end hath exalted and raised you up not only from the dust, but also from the portals of death, to rule above his people, for the comfort of His Church.

It appertaineth to you therefore to ground the justice of your authority, not upon that law which from year to year doth change, but upon the eternal providence of Him who contrary to nature, and without your deserving, hath thus exalted your head. If thus in God's presence ye humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to His afflicted flock within England under you, a weak instrument, so will I with tongue and pen justify your authority and regiment, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel; but if, these premises (as God forbid) neglected, ye shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority upon your own law, flatter you

whoso list, your felicity shall be short. Interpret my rude words in the best part, as written by him who is no enemy to your grace. By divers letters I have required licence to visit your realm, not to seek myself, neither yet my own ease or commodity, which if you now refuse and deny, I must remit my cause unto God, adding this for conclusion, that commonly it is seen that such as refuse the counsel of the faithful (appear it never so sharp) are compelled to follow the deceit of flatterers to their own perdition. The mighty spirit of the Lord Jesus move your heart to understand what is said, give unto you the discretion of spirits, and so rule you in all your actions and enterprises, that in you God may be glorified, His Church edified, and ye yourself, as a lively member of the same, may be an example and mirror of virtue and of godly life to others. So be it.

JOHN KNOX.

Several dark plots against England were hatched at this time by the Spaniards. Camden asserts that in their fear that France would obtain England by means of Mary Stuart they seriously contemplated having a candidate ready of their own, planning for this purpose to carry off Lady Catherine Grey, sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, and a claimant to the succession through the Suffolk line. Sir Thomas Chaloner, the Queen's Ambassador in the Netherlands—whence Philip was about to sail to his beloved Spain, never to return—corroborates this statement in his letter to the Queen herself.

SIR THOMAS CHALONER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

August 3, 1559.

Ill reports of your Majesty be here delivered; the ground I think to be the frustrated suit of the King in his marriage with you—although, whatever rage they bear to us, they pretend it for the alteration of religion by your Majesty. Count Feria told me he

was sorry to see your present enemy the French only gaping for opportunity, you being without money, men, armour, fortresses, practice in war, or good Captains: "And what a Council!" quoth he, and so began saying that England would be another Milan to set the princes together by the ears—that the young King was ruled by your great enemy the Guises, and you should have heard of them before this, if his master would have given assent. Though the Spaniards do somewhat dislike us, yet in this low part in all conferences they take our part. A plot [has been] discovered by one Hoggin, that before the French King's death, the Spaniards meant to have stolen the Lady Catherine Grey, whom they meant either to marry to the Prince of Spain, or some other of less degree, if less depended on her. They take her discontented, not esteemed of your Highness nor her friends. He tells us of a letter sent from the Bishop of Aquila, part of it containing these words, *Ho tanto tarder del Rey hom che los Inglesses se daran a Francia.* How they condemn us, because we are unarmed, wanting exercise and soldiers! I remember the Count Feria would say we had matter, but wanted form. An armed prince hath ever the quiet friendship of his neighbours.

Both Feria and Quadra had kept their eyes on Lady Catherine Grey, flattering her with golden hopes to such an extent as somewhat to turn her head. Though given apartments with her sister in the palace at Whitehall she was dissatisfied with her position at Court, and fell a ready prey to the designing hands of the Spaniards. She vowed that she would neither marry nor change her religion without the Spanish Ambassador's consent. Nothing, however, came of the proposed attempt to carry her off, Cecil's ubiquitous spies disclosing the plot in time to put him effectually on guard against it. Elizabeth meantime was helping to bring matters to a crisis by surreptitiously sending Sir Ralph Sadler to the Scottish border with three thousand pounds to spend there "in furtherance of our service:"

QUEEN ELIZAETH TO SIR RALPH SADLER.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters,*" Second Series.]

August 7, 1559.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Like as we have, upon great trust conceived in you, conferred for special service to be done by you upon our frontiers towards Scotland, so do we authorize you to confer, treat, or practise with any manner of person of Scotland, either in furtherance of our service, and of any other thing that may tend to make a perpetual concord betwixt the nation of Scotland and ours. We do also authorize you to reward any manner of person of Scotland, with such sums of money as you shall think meet, to be taken of the sum of three thousand pounds which we have ordered should be delivered unto you in gold; wherein such discretion and secrecy is to be used, as no part of your doings may impair the treaties of peace lately concluded betwixt us and Scotland. And for enlargement of our further meaning in this, we refer you to consider a memorial of certain articles to be delivered to you by our Secretary, whereunto you shall not need to have further respect than the opportunity of the time will require. Given under our Signet, the 7th of August, at Nonsuch, 1559, the first year of our reign.

It was characteristic of the diplomacy of the period that on the very day on which Elizabeth sent these secret instructions to Sadler she also wrote a letter to "our dear sister and ally," the Queen Regent of Scotland, in which she protested against French insinuations that her subjects had been so unneighbourly as to meddle with her Scottish rebels, Noailles, the French Ambassador, having lodged a complaint with Elizabeth to that effect:

ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

[Froude's "*History of England.*"]

August 7, 1559.

Right High and Right excellent Princess, our dear sister and ally, we commend ourselves to you most

cordially. We understand from the ambassador of our good brother the King of France, that certain of our officers on the frontiers have held intelligence with the rebels late in arms against your authority. We cannot but find it very strange that any of our subjects, and much more that persons in positions of public trust, should of their own accord, and regardless of our displeasure, have sought means to meddle with any such people. Forasmuch, however, as at present we know no particulars of these things,—but, on being well informed, will proceed to punish the offenders—we must entreat you to specify more exactly what you complain of, and let us know the entire truth, to the end that after examination and proof, we may give orders for the chastisement of such as shall be found to have offended—which you may assure yourself we will not fail to do; being, as we are, most desirous to show you that good will and friendship which we owe you as our neighbour, and to maintain those good relations which at present exist between us.

A few weeks later Arran was safely smuggled into England and lodged first at Cecil's house and afterwards in the Royal apartments at Greenwich. Here Elizabeth, in secret, had her first interview with the man to whom she had been offered in vain in her childhood by her father, Henry VIII. He was now deluded with the hope not only of sharing her throne, but also of superseding Mary Stuart in Scotland, and so uniting the two kingdoms under the spiritual guidance of the reformed religion.

CHAPTER II

PLOTS AND SCANDALS

How Elizabeth Hoodwinked the French Ambassador—England's Weakness—Quadra and the Austrian Match—Alleged Plot against Elizabeth and Dudley—Scandalous Tales—Appeasing the Catholics—Squabbles among Elizabeth's Suitors—Dudley suspected of designs against his Wife's Life—Sir Thomas Chaloner's Warning—The Scottish Rebellion—Knox on the Beginning of the Struggle—Siege of Leith—Besiegers plead for Elizabeth's Help—Bothwell Captures English Money Intended for the Rebels—Elizabeth's Denials—Cecil's Despair—The Deciding Factor—Protest of the Catholic Bishops.

Cecil and the leaders of the Scottish revolt were strongly in favour of the Arran match, but Elizabeth regarded the young earl merely as another useful pawn on her diplomatic chessboard, and used him accordingly. Even at that period Arran's brain was not all that it might have been—he was doomed to insanity for the last forty years of his life—but he was overflowing with zeal when Elizabeth dispatched him to take his share in the struggle across the border. While feeding his hopes Elizabeth was careful also to keep her English and foreign suitors in as good countenance as possible. Arran was on his way to her when she paid her state visit to Nonsuch, whence her letters had been sent to Sadler and the Queen Regent. Nonsuch had been the royal residence near Ewell of Henry VIII., and the lease had apparently been obtained from Queen Mary by Arundel. Here that would-be wooer entertained Elizabeth for several days with the magnificence worthy of the premier earl of England. While Arran was hiding in London, too, later in the month, Bedford was sent to the Spanish Ambassador to assure him "that the affair of the Archduke's marriage was in a very good way, and he expected it would be settled"; but, as Quadra said to his royal master, he knew "all about the going of the Duke of Châtelherault, or Earl of Arran (for he is called by either name), about whom no more is

known except that he is here."[1] The French Ambassador was more successfully gulled. On the day upon which Arran, after a last interview with the Queen, went north in the company of Thomas Randolph—their passports made out in the names of De Beaufort and Barnabee, and every precaution taken to prevent their identity from being discovered—M. de Noailles wrote to the Queen Regent assuring her of Elizabeth's repeated promises of good intentions towards peace and friendship:

M. DE NOAILLES TO THE QUEEN REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

[Teulet: "*Papiers d'État relatifs à l'histoire d'Écosse.*"]

LONDON, *September* 1, 1559.

Madame,

Having received your packet of August 16th, with the letters you have written to this Queen, I sent forthwith to request audience, which was delayed until last Tuesday, because the said Lady was taken ill. On that day, after presenting to her your letters and very affectionate recommendations, I told her that having sent a nobleman to Scotland expressly to make known to you the good and favourable response which she had made to me regarding the evil conduct of the Earl of Northumberland and other Ministers of hers on the northern frontier, you had charged me fully to make it known to her that you were wondrously gratified at the continuance of the good friendship and mutual understanding which existed between the three kingdoms. Also that you wished still further to be lightened of the distrust and fear in which your rebels placed you every day regarding their certainty of every help from her and from her kingdom when they required it, even boasting of having letters from the said Lady and her Council. That arose largely from her subjects allowing the Scots to pass too easily into England without their holding letters from you,

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 93.

as is required by the treaty; in regard to which your Majesty had commanded me to make remonstrances to her, in order that she should attend to it in future.

Concerning these things the said Lady answered me that, in the first place, it was quite likely that some of her ministers had been foolish enough to meddle with the evil practices among the Scots, but that she had ordered an inquiry to be made, and had sent a man expressly to set matters in order. Nevertheless, the Congregation would find they had greatly deceived themselves if they hoped for any favour from her in their foolish enterprise, and that she had neither written nor promised them anything to that effect. Her signature was easily recognized; let it be produced if it could be found. She well knew that there were men who spread wicked lies in order to cause trouble. . . . As to the Scots not being allowed to pass into this kingdom except they bear a letter from you: that was reasonable, and she had not understood that it had been done otherwise, and that she would forthwith give attention to it. And after talking of all these things, the said Lady showed me your portrait which she has in her gallery at Hampton Court, not without several references to your goodness, honesty, and virtue, and desiring me to present to you her very affectionate recommendations. And if one may judge by outward signs, she seems, Madame, to possess nothing but good intentions towards the maintenance of peace and friendship between your Majesties.

So completely was Noailles hoodwinked by Elizabeth that five days later, in writing to M. D'Oyssel, he solemnly related how he informed the English Queen of Arran's escape from France, requiring her, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, to arrest him if he ventured into England and return him to Paris. Elizabeth, in no way abashed, promised that she would not fail to do what her good brother desired, should it be in her power,

but that she had heard nothing of Arran or his doings.[1] He was beginning to see through Elizabeth, however. "She has more dissimulation than sincerity or honesty," he wrote on October 12th, adding that "few people living can play that game so well as she." She was equally astute in her dealings with her lovers. To each the Queen made a point of giving sufficient encouragement to excite the jealousy of the others, except, perhaps, to her Swedish suitor, whose ambassadors were openly made fun of in masques in their own presence. "The Swedish Ambassadors," wrote Quadra to the King of Spain, "are leaving much aggrieved and offended, as I believe it was brought to their notice that they were being made fun of in the palace, and by the Queen more than by anybody."[2] The ambassador of the King of Denmark, on the other hand, "to demonstrate his King's love for Queen Elizabeth, wore upon his gown a crimson velvet heart pierced by an arrow."[3] Quadra's hope, as will be seen in his next letter, written about the same date, was that Elizabeth's double dealing would land her into so many difficulties that she would presently be forced to marry the Archduke Charles as her only hope of safety:

BISHOP QUADRA TO THE EMPEROR FERDINAND I.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

Baron Preyner will have informed your Majesty that the affairs of this country are in a very bad way, as the Queen has thought to weaken the French by dragging them into a war in Scotland, and fomenting religious discord in that country, and even in the State itself. She favours the Duke of Châtelherault, with whom she thought of marrying, and it is difficult to see now how she can prevent her own house catching fire. I have no doubt the King of France will very soon be able to dispose of this country with the same troops that he will send to subdue Scotland. He is

[1] Teulet: "Papiers d'État relatifs à l'histoire d'Écosse," Vol. I., p. 342.
[2] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 93.
[3] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 117.

at present submitting to any conditions for the purpose of separating these people from their alliance with the Scottish rebels, and then after he has punished the latter, he will turn his army into this country.

This danger is enough to decide the Queen to marry the Archduke, which would rescue her and give the country peace and strength, but her religious feeling runs so high that she and her Councillors will never dare to trust his Highness. They think it would be taken as a sign that they had some secret understanding with my King both in religion and in other matters. In addition to this they are so taken up with the idea of their power and strength that it is impossible to open their eyes, although their feebleness is notorious, and they have neither money nor fortresses in the country, they are divided amongst themselves, and have a wilful woman for a monarch.

My King has had all this clearly pointed out to them, but to no purpose, notwithstanding that all the country is crying out that salvation can only come from a marriage with the Archduke. Perhaps time and the pressure of danger may bring the Queen to consent to it, and if it do not then we shall not have lost much by having patience and waiting six months.

Quadra was voicing a widespread opinion that marriage and Spanish protection were the only means left to save England from falling into the hands of the French. England's fighting strength had fallen to its lowest ebb in Mary's reign, the loss of Calais, after being held for two hundred years, being regarded as the measure of her weakness. The whole population of the kingdom, including Wales, did not exceed, it has been estimated, more than four millions, while that of either Spain or France was probably three or four times as great. Both powers, too, in trained troops, arms, and artillery, were immeasurably stronger than England. It is only by realising this that the dangers and difficulties of Elizabeth's position may be fully appreciated. Quadra underestimated the value of her policy of procrastination

and the increasing power of her navy. He was also hoodwinked by some wonderful story—possibly true, but more probably concocted by Elizabeth and Dudley—of a plot to poison both herself and her favourite during her recent visit to the Earl of Arundel at Nonsuch. The agent employed in this new move was Dudley's sister, wife of Sir Henry Sidney of Penshurst, and one of Elizabeth's Women of the Bedchamber:

BISHOP QUADRA TO THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

September 7, 1559.

The Emperor's Ambassador and I having been advised by one of the ladies of the palace, a sister of Lord Robert, called Lady Sidney, that this was the best time to speak to the Queen about the Archduke [Charles], the Ambassador went to Hampton Court, where the Queen is living, to see her on the subject. The lady would not speak herself, but urged that I should go, and said if I broached the matter of the match to the Queen now she was sure it would be speedily settled. I tried to discover what this might mean, and find that the Queen is much alarmed at a plot which they have told her of against her and Robert, the object of which was to kill him at a banquet given recently to the Queen by the Earl of Arundel, where also the Queen was to be poisoned. This plot, together with the French war preparations for Scotland, seems to have decided the Queen to marry, and Lady Sidney said that at all events I ought to be there, and must not mind what the Queen said, as it is the custom of the ladies here not to give their consent in such matters until they are teased into it. She said it would only take a few days, and the Council would press her to marry. Lady Sidney said that if this were not true, I might be sure she would not say such a thing, as it might cost her her life, and she was acting now with the Queen's consent, but she (the Queen) would not speak to the Emperor's

Ambassador about it. We were rather undecided what course to take for the moment, but they are now making so much of us that all London looks upon the affair as settled.

Lady Sidney said the Queen wished the Archduke to come at once, and I ought to write to the Emperor to send him, which he could do on her honour and word, and she (Lady Sidney) would never dare to say such a thing as she did in the presence of an Italian gentleman, who was interpreting between us (although we can understand each other in Italian without him), unless it were true. I said I was not quite sure what I ought to do, but I had no doubt the Archduke would come if his father allowed him, and I would write at once. I afterwards spoke to Lord Robert, who said in this, as in all things, he was at the disposal of my King, to whom he owed his life. Treasurer Parry also spoke to me on the subject of his own accord, and from him I gathered that the Queen is driven to this by fear, and when I said what a pity it was that the Queen was so irresolute, he said when I next went to the Palace he hoped to give me good news. I spoke to him about Lady Sidney, and he said the Queen had summoned both of them the night before, and at the end of our conversation he said that the marriage had now become necessary.

"It is curious how things change," wrote the delighted Quadra two days later, in telling the Duke of Alba how "they cannot make too much of me here at Hampton Court now." He was perfectly ready to believe Dudley when that pliable courtier vowed that he was the most faithful servant the Spanish sovereign had in England. "Lord Robert and his sister," he wrote to the Bishop of Arras, "are certainly acting splendidly, and the King will have to reward them well."[1] His next letter shows how cleverly Elizabeth acted her part, without committing herself one way or the other, yet succeeding in satisfying the bishop that she really meant to marry the Archduke Charles after all:

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 96.

BISHOP QUADRA TO THE EMPEROR FERDINAND.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *October* 2, 1559.

. . . Since the last letter to your Majesty, Lady Sidney told the Queen everything that had passed with me, and how she had given me hopes that this business would be carried through, and had assured me that the only thing wanting was that the Archduke should come, whereupon I had said that I had written to your Majesty to that effect on her word alone. . . . On Thursday, when the Queen came to London, the ambassador [Preyner] went to accompany her, and I believe that in the barge the Queen herself began to speak about the business to him, and he will write to your Majesty what passed between them. I think, however, she and he merely repeated the usual things, although Preyner says she opened out more than hitherto, saying that she thought she should be forced to marry. Preyner says that all her endeavour was to find out something about the Archduke's coming, of which he gave her no hope, unless she first signified her wish and summoned him, as we have always urged, and she has always refused to do. When she arrived I went on Saturday to inform her of the King's arrival in Spain, and speak on other matters. After finishing my business I was about to take my leave, when she began to talk about the marriage, and told me how the ambassador had spoken to her in the barge, and gave me a long history of what had passed between them. I let her talk, and quite understood that she would have liked to know whether the Archduke was coming, which is the only thing she thinks about.

After letting her talk as long as she liked, I said that I had perhaps already gone further than I ought to have done in this business, as your Majesty had a man of your own here, but that I knew that neither your Majesty, nor the King my master, would regret any effort made to forward it, and therefore I would

still give her my frank opinion, which was that she remained in so exacting a determination, and was so very far from answering your Majesty's request, that no arrangement was possible. The desire of your Majesty was to know whether she would marry the Archduke, and her answer was that she did not want to marry him or anybody else, and if she married at all it would only be to a man whom she knew. In addition to this she said that she did not wish the Archduke to come, by any means, as she did not wish to bind herself even indirectly to marry him. I told her that if some compromise could not be come to it was not worth while to lose time over it. I thought the best way would be for her first to premise that she had to be married, as she saw she could not avoid it, and, since she said she would not marry a man she did not know, that she should be pleased to let the Archduke come over for her to see, without her being bound more than she is at present, and that your Majesty should be informed of this, so that if you decided to send your son on these conditions it might be done without loss of time. We were at this for a long time wasting words, and at last she said the following words to me, which I copy here that your Majesty may the better consider them. She said, "Shall I speak plainly and tell you the truth? I "think that if the Emperor so desires me for a "daughter he would not be doing too much by "sending his son here without so many safeguards. "I do not hold myself of so small account that the "Emperor need sacrifice any dignity in doing it."

By these words and her manner of saying them I understood that she made no difficulty as to the conclusion of the business, but only in the procedure to bring it about. They think we are treating the matter punctiliously with her, and that your Majesty wishes your son to be supplicated and summoned, which she said she would never do; she would rather die a thousand deaths. She says it is not fit for a queen and a maiden to summon anyone to marry her for her

pleasure, and Lady Sidney has said the same thing to me many times. Seeing this, and that she made no difficulty about the substance, I thought we need not make any about the rest, and I told her that if this was the only difficulty I thought none would be raised by your Majesty in sending your son hither, but that your Majesty could not guess that she wished to negotiate in this way, and as the coming of the Archduke might displease her, it was necessary that your Majesty should be satisfied as to her wishes on the point. She answered that no one would ever know them from her, except by asking and proposing it to her in your Majesty's name. At first I appeared pleased at this contention, and then said be it so, and that in the name of your Majesty I proposed to her whether she would be pleased to allow the Archduke to come and see her without any obligation on her to marry him. She asked whether your ambassador or I was commissioned to propose this. I said that if I told her we were so commissioned she would know that I was not telling the truth, as she was aware that nothing had ever been said to us about the visit until now that some of her household recommended it to me. She thought I was going to tell her about Lady Sidney's conversation, and drew back a little as if surprised; but as I saw that she did not wish to be approached on that side I said, and repeated, that your Majesty had never understood that it would be a good way to negotiate to send your son to be married in a quarter where the only answer ever vouchsafed was that there was no idea of marrying at all. Now, however, that it is understood that the visit may be convenient and advantageous he perhaps would be sent, and, with this end, I begged her to tell me whether she would be pleased that he should come. She smiled and said that she prevented no one from coming to her realm, and I replied that that was not the kind of licence I craved, for even Turks could come in that manner, but that I wanted to know whether she would be pleased for him to come and

see her as a suitor for her hand. She answered that she could give no reply to that unless it was asked in your Majesty's name. I saw this was only vanity, and being desirous to obtain a reply, I said that as she did not wish to reply to this except it came in your Majesty's name, which she saw could not be done at present, it occurred to me to put the question in the name of the King my master, who as a friend and kinsman of both parties would be glad to know her wishes in order to be able to advise your Majesty on the matter. She was pleased at this expedient, and, after expressing some regret that your Majesty should desire her so little as to need persuasion before condescending to send your son hither, she told me that she would be glad for the Archduke to come, and asked me what languages he spoke.

We chatted on the subject very pleasantly for some time, and in a vastly different mood from her other conversations about her not wishing to marry. So much so that I told her that if it were not that I feared to arouse the suspicion of those present I would kiss her hand for such a gracious answer, and then, to draw her out still further, I asked her whether she thought the Archduke should come publicly or secretly, as we wished to do nothing displeasing to her. She drew back again at this, and said she did not wish to be pressed any more ; he should do as he thought fit, and she did not want to know anything about his coming. I said I thought it would be better for him to come privately, as I knew that was what she wished, and she replied that she hoped to God that no evil would befall him coming in this way. During this conversation she reminded me that we were to agree that she was not to be bound to marry the Archduke if he came, and knowing that this was only dissimulation, and that she really means to marry him, as I think, for otherwise she would never consent to his coming, which she has always refused hitherto, I agreed to this condition, and said all should be as she wished, and I was sure the Archduke would suffer

no loss of dignity by coming to see her Majesty, even though she might not marry him. I did not throw any doubt upon his coming, as I knew it would vex her, and, because your Majesty is not bound in any way by what I proposed, which was all conditional on your Majesty's will and was done in the name of the King my master as intermediary. What I have aimed at in these conversations is to show her that I understood her, and I said I conceded at once the condition she imposed, because I knew that the condition would become unnecessary as soon as she saw the Archduke, with whom she would certainly be satisfied, and whom she would not allow to go out of England again. Sometimes she was silent at this way of talking, but when I pressed her much she seemed frightened, and protested again and again that she was not to be bound, and that she was not resolved yet whether she should marry; but this was after we had agreed about the Archduke's visit. At length, to give me to understand that she was serious in her demand, she repeated what we had agreed upon in order that I should put it in writing, and when I took this as a joke she said she would not trust me, as she knew I was deceiving her, and she would write to the King herself, that he might bear witness that she would bind herself to nothing, and had not asked the Archduke to come. I thereupon kissed her hand and told her I was glad that this account would not depend upon my recollection, and I should be quite easy with what she wrote. I expect she will write these protestations very seriously, but her letter must be explained jointly with mine, and her words need not cause any alarm, as they are certainly nothing but ceremony. I might easily be deceived myself, but I do not believe that Lady Sidney and Lord Robert could be mistaken, and the latter says he never thought the Queen would go so far.

Even Cecil, though perhaps preferring the Arran alliance, promised Quadra to support the Austrian match, going so far

as to declare that they could not avoid ruin if the Queen did not marry the Archduke. The Queen, he said, hoped that Philip would not abandon her in this strait, "and I told him that if this marriage were brought about I was sure that the King would not only renew the alliance and unity with this country, but would do more than was expected, because the Archduke was his first cousin; to which he replied that if this were so he was sure the King of France would not at present attempt the conquest of the country, as both my King and your Majesty [the Emperor] would defend it, which I admitted, always on condition that the marriage was effected, but keeping silence when this condition was not mentioned. He told me also that the Queen was sending large forces to the frontier of Scotland and that a great fleet was being collected; but all this with so little spirit and in such a manner that it is clear they are much alarmed."[1] Cecil had reason to be worried—by affairs at home as well as across the border. The Queen made no secret of her preference for her married Master of the Horse, and her intimacy with him gave rise to scandals which added not a little to the Secretary's anxieties. Elizabeth herself was well aware of these tales, as will be seen in Quadra's next letter:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *October* 5, 1559.

. . . In my last interview with the Queen, while I was urging and persuading her to consent to the Archduke's visit, she said she did not dare to summon him, as she feared he might not be satisfied with her. I said that could not be, as she was so well endowed by nature, and other things to the same effect, whereupon she replied that he might not be dissatisfied with what he saw, but with what he heard about her, as I knew there were people in the country who took pleasure in saying anything that came into their heads about her. This she said with some signs of shame, and I answered that we who were treating of the Emperor's business were not so badly informed

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 103—4.

that we did not know something of what was necessary in deciding the affair, and her Majesty might be sure that if there were anything which the Archduke should not hear or learn, the idea of his coming would not have been entertained by us, and this being so, she could understand thereby the high esteem in which your Majesty had always held her, and with this I tried all I could to change the subject, signifying that there was no need to speak of it. I saw she was pleased, as she no doubt thought that if the Archduke heard any of the idle tales they tell about her (and they tell many) he might take advantage of them to the detriment of her honour if the match were broken off, and, although from this point of view I was not sorry, as the fear may not be without advantage to us, I thought well for all other reasons to say that I grieved greatly that Her Majesty should imagine such things, and should think that the Archduke was capable of any other thought than that of serving her in any case, whether she married him or not, and that such considerations were not worthy of her rank or that of the Archduke. The same remark had been made by me before in conversation by Lady Sidney, only I understood then that she was complaining of the rivals her brother had. At any rate the Queen now remains without a shadow of misgiving on the point, and I am in great hope that it would not have occurred to her unless she thought the marriage would take place. . . .

Feria understood his Elizabeth better than did the Bishop of Aquila, to whom he wrote from Malines on October 14: "I should be glad if that woman (Elizabeth) were quite to lose her head and bring matters to a point, although when I think what a baggage she is, and what a crew she is surrounded by, there is probability enough of my wish coming true. It seems the Emperor up to the present refuses leave for his son to go, and to tell the truth, I cannot persuade myself that he is wrong, nor do I believe that she will either marry him, or refuse to marry him, while the

matter at issue is only his visit. Real necessity, however, may make her open her eyes and marry, although the laxity of the neighbouring princes may still allow her to deceive herself."[1] The truth was that Elizabeth realised the necessity of remaining on the best terms with Philip and the Emperor while the French peril existed in Scotland. It was for the same reason that she gave fresh encouragement to the Catholics, though Quadra this time was not to be deceived. "The crucifixes and vestments that were burnt a month ago publicly," he wrote to the Bishop of Arras on October 9, "are now set up again in the royal chapel, as they soon will be all over the kingdom, unless, which God forbid, there is another change next week. They are doing it out of sheer fear to pacify the Catholics, but as forced favours are no sign of affection they often do more harm than good."[2] The bishops-elect and other ardent reformers were horrified at these reactionary signs, and Cecil, apparently, had to bear the brunt of their displeasure, as well as of the Queen's uncertain temper :

BISHOP QUADRA TO THE COUNT DE FERIA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

October 29, 1559.

. . . Bedford attacked Cecil the other day about the crucifix, and the Queen also insulted him for some other cause unknown to me. The heretic Bishops are grumbling to her about their revenues, and are beginning to preach against her ; in fact, if I were to tell you all that is going on I should never finish. The harvest is ripe if there were someone to come and reap it, but I can see no hope of that except from heaven. Your Lordship's opinion with regard to the Queen's marriage would hold good in the case of a woman of brains and conscience, with which this one is not troubled, but, as it is, I think she either will not marry, or, if she do, it will only be because she has brought the Archduke here and likes him. Her need cannot be greater than it is, nor does it suit

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 105.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

us that it should be so, as that would mean an appeal to arms, which I believe His Majesty does not desire. The best feature in the match with the Archduke is that the French would retire from the business, and the minds of Catholics and heretics would calm down, as both would think he would favour their side. In this respect all the heretics are quite content that he should be a Catholic so long as he leaves them at liberty, and I feel sure the Queen would do the same, as she is certainly tired of the vapourings she gave way to at first. It will be well for your Lordship to urge the coming of the Archduke, as it is most important, and the ambassador is sending one of his gentlemen to the Emperor to press it. The freedom of these blackguards annoys me beyond measure, as the Queen says the most extraordinary things, and I always have a retort for every word, which greatly offends but does not frighten her, whereas I should like to follow an exactly contrary course, first making much of her, and then give her some gall syrup in the form of news of leagues against her, which she fears most.

Here we are, ten or twelve ambassadors, competing for her favour, and now they say the Duke of Holstein, brother of the King of Denmark, is coming, and, as they tell me, not a worse-looking man than the Archduke. The King of Sweden's son, who is here, is fit to kill the Emperor's ambassador, because he said his father was only a clown who had stolen his kingdom from the crown of Denmark, and the matter has reached such a point that the Queen is careful they should not meet in the palace to avoid their slashing each other in her presence. To crown it all they are making mischief with me about it.

The other day when Pickering was going into the chapel, which is inside the Queen's apartments, the Earl of Arundel came to the door and told him he knew very well that that was a place for lords, and he must go to the presence chamber. The other answered that he knew that, and he also knew that Arundel was an impudent, discourteous knave, which

the earl heard, and went out without answering a word, leaving the other to enter. Pickering tells it in public, and refrains from challenging him as he holds him of small account, but it is only right that he should refrain, as the other is very weak.

This was not the first time that Pickering had openly picked a quarrel with the nobles of the Court, who now scorned the airs and arrogance of this upstart favourite. He was fully trusted neither by the Protestants nor the Catholics, and gradually dropped out of the running. In the previous month he had sent a challenge to the Earl of Bedford for having spoken ill of him at a banquet, choosing, of all unlikely men as his second, Lord Robert Dudley, but Dudley, though his rival in the Queen's affections, was also a hearty despiser of the extreme Protestants, to which section Bedford belonged, and promised to deliver the challenge. Bedford, however, who was something of a physical freak, was, like Arundel, no fighting man, and nothing apparently came of it. "I do not believe that Bedford will ever quarrel with anybody," wrote Quadra, in mentioning this incident to the Duke of Alba.

Meantime, Elizabeth, the arch flirt, was perfectly content to have all her lovers at her feet at once, in spite of the critical state of affairs in Scotland, and the increasing danger of French influence there. "The woman's troubles are growing apace," wrote the Spanish Ambassador exultantly to the Duchess of Parma, "and her house will be in a blaze before she knows it. . . . A plot was made the other day to murder Lord Robert," added Quadra a little later, "and it is now common talk and threat. The plot was headed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, and all the principal adherents of the Archduke. The Queen and Robert are very uneasy about the Duke of Norfolk, as he talks openly about her lightness and bad government. People are ashamed of what is going on, and particularly the Duke, as he is Lord Robert's enemy."[1] It was about this time that the sinister rumours began to circulate to the effect that Dudley meant to get rid of his wife in order to marry

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 107.

the Queen. This was some ten months before the actual tragedy which cost Amy Robsart her life. Quadra referred to these rumours in the letter containing a long account of two further unsatisfactory interviews with the Queen, in the course of which she declared that whoever had assured him that she meant to marry the Archduke when he came "had done this with good intentions, but without any commission from her." Not but that she might still do so if only he would come, etc., etc. . . .

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *November* 13, 1559.

The matter of the Queen's marriage being in the position explained to your Majesty in recent letters, a position which gave hopes of its being brought about, I received certain news which forced me to try to get a definite declaration from the Queen, whatever the result might be, rather than the Archduke should be deceived when he arrived here. What moved me to ascertain her wishes was that I noticed Lord Robert was slackening in our business, and favouring the Swedish match, and that he had had words with his sister because she was carrying the affair further than he desired, but principally because I had heard from a certain person who is accustomed to give me veracious news that Lord Robert has sent to poison his wife. Certainly all the Queen has done with us and with the Swede, and will do with the rest in the matter of her marriage, is only keeping Lord Robert's enemies and the country engaged with words until this wicked deed of killing his wife is consummated. The same person told me some extraordinary things about this intimacy, which I would never have believed, only that now I find Lord Robert's enemies in the Council making no secret of their evil opinion of it. . . .

As I knew that the Duke of Norfolk was the chief of Lord Robert's enemies, who are all the principal

people in the kingdom, and that he had said that if Lord Robert did not abandon his present pretensions and presumption he would not die in his bed, I got the Ambassador to write to him, Norfolk, and also wrote myself, and we sent a gentleman interpreter of ours to him with Lord Sidney (*sic*), who is a kinsman of Robert's, and a great adherent of the Duke, with instructions to give him an account of all that had happened in this business, and the point to which we had brought it, in order that we might obtain his countenance and advice. He replied very graciously, and sent word that he should rejoice greatly if the affair could be brought about, and was of opinion that the Archduke should come publicly and ostentatiously, in which case he (Norfolk) would stake his right arm that he would give us the votes of all the biggest and best in the land. He himself would come here to be present at the reception of the Archduke, to whom he wished to speak before he entered London, and asked us to endeavour to get him appointed by the Queen to go to meet him. I think this hatred of Lord Robert will continue, as the Duke and the rest of them cannot put up with his being King. I am of opinion if the Archduke comes and makes the acquaintance and obtains the goodwill of these people, even if this marriage—of which I have now no hope except by force—should fall through, and any disaster were to befall the Queen, such as may be feared from her bad government, the Archduke might be summoned to marry Lady Catherine [Grey], to whom the kingdom falls if this woman dies. If the Archduke sees her (Catherine) he should so bear himself that she should understand this design, which in my opinion may be beneficial and even necessary. . . .

Postscript: The son of the King of Sweden went to-day to visit the Queen, and being tired of waiting in an antechamber he went away to his house without saying a word to anybody. I think he is undeceived now, after scattering large sums of money

amongst these people and showing himself off to the Queen.[1]

The relations between Dudley and the Duke of Norfolk grew from bad to worse. One day, wrote Quadra, the Duke "spoke out so plainly to Lord Robert that they separated abruptly, and Robert told him he was neither a good Englishman nor a loyal subject who advised the Queen to marry a foreigner. Things are very strained between them, and the Duke has gone home in dudgeon."[2] As for Elizabeth, Quadra in wrath and despair was at last forced to admit that she was altogether beyond him. "Your lordship," he wrote towards the end of the year to the Count de Feria, "will see what a pretty business it is to have to treat with this woman, who, I think, must have a hundred thousand devils in her body, notwithstanding that she is for ever telling me she yearns to be a nun, and to pass her time in a cell praying. I have heard great things of a sort that cannot be written about, and you will understand what they must be by that."[3] The indiscretions of the Queen and her favourite Dudley had now become a subject of such general remark as to call forth a solemn warning from Sir Thomas Chaloner, whose negotiations at the Imperial Court led him strongly to favour the acceptance of the Archduke Charles:

SIR THOMAS CHALONER TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Haynes: "*Burghley State Papers.*"]

I assure you, sir, these folks are broad-mouthed where I spake of one too much in favour, as they esteem; I think ye guess whom they named; if ye do not, I will upon my next letters write further. To tell you what I conceive—as I count the slander most false, so a young princess cannot be too wary what countenance or familiar demonstration she maketh, more to one than another. I judge no man's service

[1] This son of the King of Sweden was the young Duke of Finland, who had been sent over on a new embassy to further the suit of his brother Eric, referred to on p. 4. Apparently he determined to try for Elizabeth's hand himself, but with no better success than his brother.

[2] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 117.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

in the realm worth the entertainment with such a tale of obloquy, or occasion of speech to such men as of evil will are ready to find faults. This delay of ripe time for marriage, besides the loss of the realm (for without posterity of her highness what hope is left unto us?) ministereth matter to these leud tongues to descant upon, and breedeth contempt. I would I had but one hour's talk with you. Think if I trusted not your good nature, I would not write thus much; which nevertheless I humbly pray you to reserve as written to yourself.

Consider how ye deal now in the emperor's matter: much dependeth on it. Here they hang in expectation as men desirous it should go forward, but yet they have small hope: In mine opinion (be it said to you only) the affinity is great and honourable: the amity necessary to stop and cool many enterprises. Ye need not fear his greatness should overrule you; he is not a Philip, but better for us than a Philip. Let the time work for Scotland as God will, for sure the French, I believe, shall never long enjoy them: and when we be stronger and more ready, we may proceed with that, that is yet unripe. The time itself will work, when our great neighbours fall out next. In the mean time settle we things begun; and let us arm and fortify our frontiers.

Affairs in Scotland had moved swiftly since Arran crossed the border after his inspiring interviews with Elizabeth. We must hark back a few weeks to pick up the threads of this part of our story. On his arrival Arran had speedily won over to the reformers' camp his weak and wavering father, the Duke of Châtelherault. Encouraged by this and the hope of Elizabeth's help, the Lords of the Congregation sent a letter to the Queen Regent, which practically amounted to an ultimatum, demanding that the fortifications which her French troops were building at Leith—where they had lately landed a thousand strong—should be discontinued, and that all foreigners, including the garrison, should be dismissed. Mary of Guise, however, was the last

woman in the world to be brow-beaten in this fashion. In spite of the dropsical disease which kept her to her sick chamber in the newly raised fortifications, she sent for her Lion Herald King-at-Arms, and returned a verbal reply to her rebellious nobles, indicating at length her attitude, and declining to accede to any of their demands. She bade the Lord Lion in conclusion to "require the Duke of Châtelherault and the other nobles to separate themselves from the insurgents, and leave Edinburgh forthwith, under penalty of being proclaimed traitors." Then, with haughty brevity —far more effective than any outburst of passion—she wrote the following letter to the lords who, by the signing of the reformers' covenant of 1557, had constituted themselves heads of the Scottish Church—the "Congregation of the Lord"—just as Elizabeth had been nominated "only Supreme Governor" of the Church in England:

THE QUEEN REGENT OF SCOTLAND TO THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.

[Strickland's "*Lives of the Queens of Scotland.*"]

LEITH, *October* 21, 1559.

After commendations, we have received your letter from Edinburgh the 19th of this instant, which appeareth to us rather to have come from a Prince to his subjects, than from subjects to them that have authority—whereof we have presently directed unto you this bearer, Lion Herald King-of-Arms, sufficiently instructed with our mind, to whom ye shall give credence.

MARY R.

Thereupon the rebellious lords, realising that there was no time to be lost, passed a resolution formally suspending Mary from all authority as Regent of the realm. This they paradoxically proclaimed from the market cross at Edinburgh in the name of their sovereign lord and lady, the Queen Regent's own daughter and son-in-law, Mary Stuart and Francis II. Knox himself has left a letter exactly explaining the situation at this date:

JOHN KNOX TO MR. RAYLTON.[1]

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

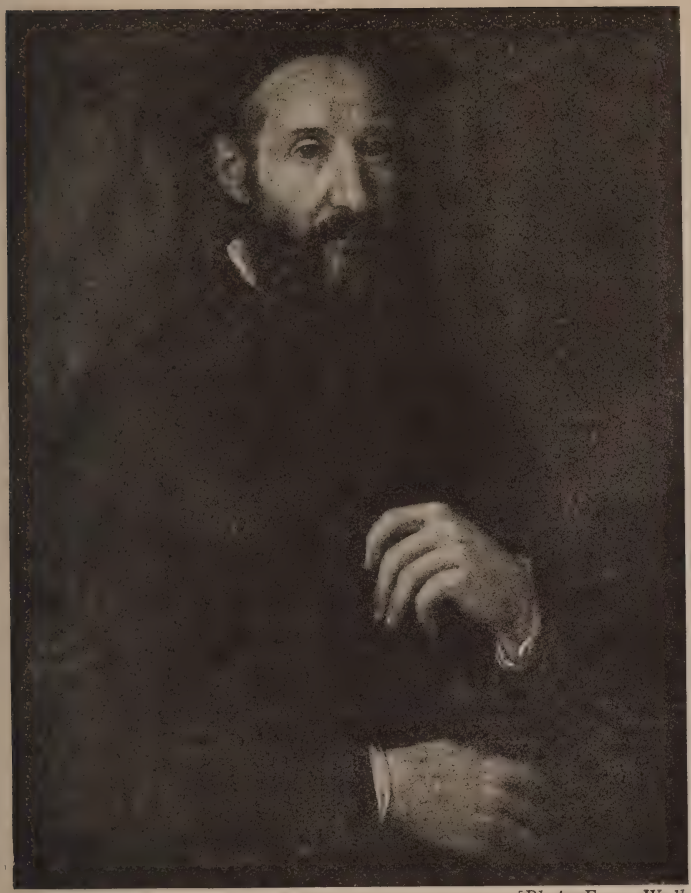
EDINBURGH, *October* 23, 1559.

. . . The alteration that be here is this—the Queen Regent, with public consent of the Lords and Barons assembled, is deprived of all authority and regiment [rule] among us. She, Frenchmen, and assistants are by open proclamation declared and denounced enemies and traitors to this commonwealth, for that being thrice required and charged to desist from the fortification of Leith, she and they do obstinately proceed in their wicked enterprise. This was done this Monday before noon. There shall be appointed to occupy the authority a great council, the president and chief head whereof shall be my Lord Duke [Châtelherault]. The authority of the French King and Queen is yet received, and will be in works till they deny our most just requests which you shall, God willing, shortly hereafter understand, together with our whole proceedings from the beginning of this matter, which we are to set forth in manner of history.

The battle is begun sharp enough; God give the issue to His glory and our comfort! She hath yet small advantage, as for the death of two of our soldiers, and for the hurting of three gentlemen, she hath lost two captains and hath for wounded many of her chief soldiers, to the number of twenty upon a day.

They brag, and the Queen especially, that ye will leave us in the midst of the trouble, and this she hath of her last post which came by you. My battle to this day hath been very bitter, but if ye frustrate my expectation and the promise that I have made in your name, I regard not how few my dolorous days shall be. What God hath wrought by me in this

[1] A note in the Sadler Papers states that "Raylton seems to have been a sort of private secretary or decipherer." Wright, in reprinting the letter, is more inclined to think that Raylton was a feigned name for somebody in a more conspicuous position.



[*Photo, Emery Walker*

JOHN KNOX

After the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery

matter I will not now write. But this I may say, that such offers are refused that more do judge us fools, than do praise our constancy. We are determined to essay the uttermost, but first we must have three thousand more soldiers, for if we assault and be repulsed, then shall our enterprise be in great hazard. And our commons are not able to abide together. Give advertisement therefore to such as befriend us, that without delay our support be sent, as well by money as by men.

If your eyes be single, ye may not let to succour our present necessity, whatsoever danger appear thereof to ensue. I must further require you to be a suitor to all such as you know to be unfeigned favourers, and especially to our brethren of London, to have a respect to our necessities.

The French ships keep the narrow waters here, which is to us a great annoyance, and unto them a great relief. Provision would be had betimes, which we cannot make by reason that all our ships are absent, and as we fear stayed, so many as be in France. Make ye advertisement as ye think good, for I cannot write to any especial for lack of opportunity; for in twenty-four hours I have not four or five to natural rest and ease of this wicked carcass. Remember my last request for my mother, and say to Mr. George that I have need of a good and an assured horse, for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promised to any that shall kill me; and yet would I hazard to come unto you, if I were assured that I might be permitted to open my mouth, to call again to Christ Jesus those unthankful children, who, alack! have appeared utterly to have forgotten His loving mercies, which sometimes I supposed they had embraced. And this part of my care now poured in your bosom, I cease further to trouble you, being troubled myself in body and in spirit for the troubles that be present and appear to grow. God give end to His glory and to our comfort. This 23rd of October, 1559, at mid-

night. Many things I have to write, which now time suffereth not, but after if ye make haste with this message, ye shall understand more. . . . I write with sleeping eyes.

Mary of Guise's devoted garrison of Frenchmen at Leith, scorning the summons to surrender, the Lords of the Congregation prepared to take the town by storm, but discovered both the fortifications and the men defending them considerably stouter than they anticipated. Though the main body of the long-delayed reinforcements from France had not yet arrived, the advanced guard of a thousand veterans, which had landed at Leith under D'Oyssel, proved infinitely better soldiers than men who were more at home at border raids than at a serious siege against disciplined troops. Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, who kept Cecil fully posted as to the course of events, saw plainly that the Scotsmen had no easy task before them. "Now the affray is begun, and being thus far entered in blood on both parts," they wrote to the anxious secretary on October 24, "we think it cannot soon be staunched . . . whether they will assault the town of Leith or not we cannot tell, but you know the Scots will climb no walls."[1] The Lords of the Congregation now turned more anxiously than ever to Elizabeth, hoping for the relief without which the Queen's Commissioners clearly saw they had little likelihood of success.

SIR RALPH SADLER AND SIR JAMES CROFT TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

BERWICK, *October 27*, 1559.

Yesternight we received letters in cipher from Randolph, with others from the Earl of Arran, alias Beaufort,[2] to the Queen's Majesty, to you and to us, and also certain other writings which we send you here enclosed, praying you that upon consideration of the same, we may be directed from thence with speed, how we shall answer their desires in such sort

[1] Wright's "Elizabeth and her Times," 1838.
[2] The feigned name which was given to the Earl in his passport.

as to your wisdoms there shall be thought convenient, for now you may see great likelihood what this matter will grow unto.

We have in the mean season thought good to put them in some hope of such relief as with honour and secrecy may be ministered unto them, and also have given them such advice as you shall perceive by the copy of our letters presently written in cipher to Randolph, which you shall receive herewith. But surely we think if they be not relieved and supported by the Queen's Majesty, their poverty being such as they allege, they must of force desist and leave off their enterprise to their own confusion. And if by her Highness's aid they may prosper and achieve the same, yet in the end, as far as we can see, her Highness must either manifest herself on that side, or else they shall not be able to strive and wrestle with the power of France. Wherein we be bold to say our poor minds as men which from the bottom of our hearts do wish and desire the establishment of this island in perpetual unity and concord, the like opportunity whereof, that is now offered, we think we shall not live to see, if this be pretermitted, the consideration whereof we refer to the wisdom and deep judgment of those to whom it chiefly appertaineth, which can more deeply weigh it, and discern and see further in the same than our poor wits can reach. So we end, committing you to God, who directeth all to His pleasure.

Your assured poor friends,

R. Sadler,
James Croft.

All the early honours of war rested with the seasoned French troops, who repulsed the first assault with ease, and shortly afterwards raided Edinburgh itself during a daring sortie one morning while part of the Scottish force was vainly searching for the Earl of Bothwell, who had just robbed the Laird of Ormiston of funds intended for the besiegers. Bothwell was at this date only some twenty-

three years old, and though nominally Protestant in his religion, now became a staunch supporter of the Queen Regent. His capture of the money was doubly serious because it had been secretly sent in the following circumstances by the English commissioners to meet the desperate needs of the Scottish rebels:

SIR RALPH SADLER AND SIR JAMES CROFT TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

BERWICK, *October* 31, 1559.

Yesternight arrived here the Laird of Ormiston, with these letters, which we send you here enclosed. He was specially dispatched hither for money, and declared unto us that unless they might be presently helped and relieved with the same, they could not keep their power any longer together, but that their soldiers, which they had in wages, were ready to depart from them, for lack of payment, whereupon because we thought it not good utterly to discourage them, we have presumed to send them one thousand pounds, which we declared unto him, we shifted for of our own money, and such as we could borrow of our friends for the time, and so we have now written unto Randolph, requiring him to declare the same to such of the lords there as he thinketh good, and to advertise them that we be in good hope to send them more very shortly, praying them to keep it secret, and to make as few privy to it as is possible, whereof likewise we required the said Ormiston—to whom also we have given two hundred crowns for his own relief, which he took in very thankful part, and so we returned him this day with speed to Edinburgh with good words, and good hope of more relief as soon as may be. Furthermore, like as we wrote unto you that we would send this bearer, Mr. Drury, to Edinburgh, to the intent we might the better understand by him of their doings there, so being directed from me, Sir James Croft, to the Prior of St. Andrews, he hath been there among

them since Thursday last, and is now returned unto us in the company of the said Laird of Ormiston. He hath viewed the town of Leith very near, within the shot of the arquebuse, and what he judgeth of the same, and all the rest that he hath seen and heard there he can better and more at length declare unto you than we can write. He is honest, wise, and secret, and therefore we have thought good to dispatch him presently herewith, praying you to credit him in that he shall declare unto you on our behalf.

What will be the end of this matter we cannot tell, but surely without the Queen's Majesty's aid, either by taking open and plain part with them, or else secretly to be at charges with them, as her Highness hath been for a time, we see not, their poverty being such as it is, as this said bearer can tell, that they shall be able of themselves to keep any power long together, but of force must be fain to stay and depart, to their no little danger, and to the utter overthrow of the whole intended purpose. And what may ensue thereof we refer to be considered there by such as can more deeply weigh and judge of the same than we can, and for our parts shall be ready to do as we shall be commanded. And thus we commit you to the tuition of Almighty God.

Your assured poor friends,

R. Sadler,
James Croft.

The Laird of Ormiston, who had an escort of seven men, was John Cockburn, a zealous reformer, against whom Bothwell was nursing a private feud. The "glorious, rash, and hazardous young man," as Throckmorton once called him, was only too ready to carry out the Queen Regent's instructions to seize him on his return to Edinburgh from Berwick. Lying in wait for the Laird near Dumpenter Law with twenty-four men, he succeeded in intercepting the convoy, and, cutting Ormiston down with a cut across the

face, carried him off with the booty to his castle at Crichton. In his letter of November 3, in which he announces this mishap to Cecil, Randolph adds:

Immediately after word came to us that Ormiston was hurt, and the money lost, the Earl of Arran and the Lord James Stuart went with two hundred horsemen and one hundred footmen, and two pieces of artillery, to the Lord Bothwell's house, trusting to have found him there; howbeit they came too late, only by a quarter of an hour. They have, notwithstanding, taken his house; and unless he render the money out of hand, this day his house will be set afire, and his goods reserved, in recompense of the money, and he to be taken as an enemy to the whole Lords of the Congregation.[1]

Bothwell's reply was to send Arran a challenge to single combat "as you please on horse or foot, unto the death," before Frenchmen and Scotsmen. Arran replied that he would meet him only "whensoever you may recover the name of an honest man, which by your cowardly deed you have lost," and in no case before Frenchmen, "whom you rank with Scots, for there is no Frenchman in this realm with whose judgment I will have to do." Bothwell's capture not only heartened the Queen Regent in her besieged stronghold; it also furnished damning evidence of English official help in the rebellion. "Tell the Queen what we have discovered," wrote D'Oyssel to Noailles in London, "although I believe she will disavow it; but if you look her straight in the face she can hardly help blushing whatever assurance she may possess."[2] Elizabeth, of course, was ready enough with her denials, especially in view of Mary of Guise's strengthened position, and the possibility of the arrival of the main French army, 20,000 strong, under the command of her youngest brother René, the Marquis d'Elboeuf. The Lords of the Congregation, wrote Sadler and Croft to Randolph, "must say that the money was Ormiston's, or theirs, or colour the matter otherwise."[3] Elizabeth herself,

[1] Sadler Papers.
[2] Teulet: "Papièrs d'État.," p. 379.
[3] Scottish Calendar, I., p. 259.

however, had not heard of this regrettable incident when the French Ambassador roused her ire during the tournament of November 3, at which her favourite Dudley, and Lord Hunsdon, held the lists against all comers:

M. DE NOAILLES TO FRANCIS II.

[Teulet: "*Papièrs d'État relatifs à l'histoire d'Écosse.*"]

LONDON, *November* 9, 1559.

Sire,

Being aware that this Queen was beginning to be somewhat alarmed at the preparations which are being made in Normandy to send reinforcements to Scotland, it seemed to me it was time that I, on behalf of your Majesty, should make known to her all that you had been pleased to command me in your last instructions. On this occasion having asked for an audience on the 3rd of this month, she granted it to me on the 5th, which was last Sunday afternoon—thus giving me an opportunity to see the tournament which was then held in her presence by my Lords Robert [Dudley] and Hunsdon, the champions who held the lists against all comers. Eighteen assailants presented themselves, and some of them made a brave show. The said Lady, who showed much favour to the two champions, had with her, in the gallery from which she watched the tournament, the Duke of Finland and the Emperor's ambassador, besides your hostages and myself, together with a number of lords and ladies of the court. On my arrival she demanded if I had any news from France, complaining that she had learned nothing, not even of her ambassador, whom she had commanded to come for seven or eight days past, and did not know what could be keeping him. I answered that I had received letters from your Majesty, written ten or twelve days ago, in which I was directed to tell her that, in view of the obstinacy and malice with which the Scots continued their attacks, you were resolved to send help to the Queen Regent in order that she might resist them. On which the said Lady said to

me rather abruptly that it was very reasonable that this provision should be made, but it must not be thought very strange if she on her side were also to arm herself. She heard, she said, that great preparations of men and ships were being made in Normandy, and that there did not seem to be any need for so much assistance, for she knew that there were in Scotland almost as many French as Scots in arms, there being scarcely more than six or seven thousand of the said Scots altogether. I replied that if they had been rightly reckoned they would be found to be a hundred of the rebels against one, and these could drive out the French. At which the tilting began, and the said Lady, not wishing to lose the pleasure of watching, said to me that we would speak of these matters later when we were more at leisure.

When the jousts were concluded she dismissed with some gracious words both the Duke of Finland and the Imperial Ambassador, so that she might withdraw and talk with me alone. Having first excused herself for not having given me an audience sooner because she had been so much occupied, we resumed our conversation where we had left it. I continued to lay before her your Majesty's commands regarding the said preparation, pointing out that you knew of so few faithful servants in Scotland that it was necessary to send more Frenchmen there, and that that ungrateful nation would not even have allowed the Queen Regent to remain in Leith, had it not been strengthened by earthworks, and by the presence of a few French troops. Therefore she [Elizabeth] could judge for herself how expedient it was that all diligence should be used in setting matters right.

She answered that it was also her custom, and that of her kingdom, to arm when her neighbours armed. All her coasts were being watched, she declared, in order to guard against any attack, repeating again what she had heard, that matters were not at such a point that it was necessary for France to send so

many men and ships to Scotland and that there were many other places loyal to the Queen Regent besides Leith, such as Dunbar, and Edinburgh Castle. I tried to reply, Sire, very plainly on these points, explaining, in the first place, that she was thus doing great injury to the peace and friendship between your Majesties, and that she could see that you were sufficiently harassed now in your own country without wishing to attack any other. Also that I could, on my part, swear to her, in all truth and conscience, and call God to witness, that in all the negotiations in which it had pleased you to command me, I was only aware that you had no greater wish than truly and soundly to observe the said friendship and treaties of peace. . . . At last the said Lady admitted that your arming on this occasion was reasonable and necessary, instructing me to thank you greatly for the information you had been pleased to give her, and to beg that you would not think it in any way strange if she kept her ships ready and her coasts garrisoned, as is the custom in her kingdom. She maintained that it would not in any way disturb on her part the firm peace and friendship which she had sworn to God and to your Majesty. . . . In this manner, Sire, it being already late, the audience came to an end.

It was an embarrassing position for Elizabeth, and extremely difficult to say exactly what her real intentions were at this period. As Froude says, deliberately, or in spite of herself, she was doing what she was compelled to deny, and at the same time, holding out hopes which, if she could help it, she never meant to fulfil. Probably the real explanation was that she detested Knox as much as she feared a French attack through Scotland, and had a deep-rooted and not unreasonable objection to all rebels against royal authority. She had fondly hoped that the Scots would have ousted the Frenchmen without any question of open assistance on her side. "Had they not been unskilled in sieges and the art of war," wrote Dr. Jewel to Peter Martyr on December 1, "they would have effected something long before this time.

Slight skirmishes took place on both sides up to the sixth of November, after which the Scots retired into winter quarters; whereupon a rumour was spread abroad by the Queen's party that the Scots had run away with their spirits broken. But they, with their leaders, still maintain their ground, and hold councils, and increase their numbers, and levy money, and have troops in readiness, should there be any occasion for their services."[1] In point of fact, the Lords of the Congregation had stored their artillery in Edinburgh Castle on the bond of the neutral Lord Erskine to re-deliver it, and retired to Linlithgow at midnight on the sixth, vowing that they would coin their plate to maintain the Word of God and the weal of Scotland. The Queen Regent re-occupied the capital the next morning, most of the inhabitants "fleeing with bag and baggage, and putting their best stuff in the castle for safety."[2] Elizabeth still declined openly to support the Scottish cause. The English council was hopelessly divided on the subject, though her far-seeing Secretary saw that armed intervention was the only way to safety. Elizabeth hesitated so long to take the plunge that in a fit of despair Cecil at length sent her the following undated letter declining to act further in the matter:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

It may please your most Excellent Majesty,

With a sorrowful heart and watery eyes, I your poor servant and most loyal subject, an unworthy Secretary, beseech your Majesty to pardon this my lowly suit, that considering the proceeding in this matter for removing of the French out of Scotland doth not content your Majesty, and that I cannot with my conscience give any contrary advice, I may, with your Majesty's favour and clemency, be spared to intermeddle therein. And this I am forced to do of necessity, for I will never be a minister in any your Majesty's service, whereunto your own mind shall not be agreeable, for thereunto I am sworn, to be a

[1] Zurich Letters. First Series.
[2] Scottish Calendar, II., p. 262.

minister of your Majesty's determinations and not of mine own, or of others, though they be never so many. And on the other part, to serve your Majesty in anything that myself cannot allow, must needs be an unprofitable service, and so untoward, as therein I would be loth your Majesty should be deceived. And as for any other service, though it were in your Majesty's kitchen or garden, from the bottom of my heart I am ready without respect of estimation, wealth, or ease, to do your Majesty's commandment to my life's end. Whereof I wish with all my poor sorrowful heart, that your Majesty would make some proof, for this I do affirm, that I have not had since your Majesty's reign, any one day's joy but in your Majesty's honour and weal.

Meantime the elements which were to turn the scales in England's favour on a more momentous occasion later in her reign now conspired with Cecil to make Elizabeth change her mind. Elbœuf, who had been waiting at Calais for a favourable opportunity to convey his troops to Scotland without encountering the English fleet, succeeded only in meeting disaster in a gale, which wrecked four of his ships and drowned between one and two thousand troops off the coast of Holland. A second army dispatched for the same purpose under Martigues, was wrecked on the Danish coast. These, and other reassuring news from France, decided Elizabeth at last openly to throw in her lot with the rebels of Scotland and remove the French peril thence once and for all. "You will see by my letters to his Majesty," wrote Quadra to the Duke of Alba, "that what we have feared so long has at last come to pass. It is the Queen's act, and I pray God that Christendom may not again be set aflame by these corrupt and evil appetites."[1] The Queen had other weighty matters to deal with in this closing month of the year, in addition to the Scottish crisis, and the ceaseless negotiations concerning the marriage which she never intended to contract. The Catholic bishops having, with one exception, declined to swear the new oath, they were deprived

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I.

of their sees during the summer and autumn. Five were now bold enough to send Elizabeth a letter which, had it been addressed by Protestants to Mary during the last reign, would probably have cost the writers their lives:

THE DEPRIVED BISHOPS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Strype's "*Annals of the Reformation.*"]

December 4, 1559.

Most Royal Queen,

We entreat your gracious Majesty to listen unto us of the Catholic clergy within your realm, as well as unto others, lest that your gracious Majesty and subjects be led astray through the inventions of those evil counsellors who are persuading your ladyship to embrace schisms and heresies in lieu of the ancient Catholic faith, which hath been long since planted within this realm by the motherly care of the Church of Rome—which your ancestors duly and reverently observed and confessed, until by heretical and schismatical advisers your father was withdrawn; and after him your brother Prince Edward. After his decease, your virtuous sister Queen Mary of happy memory succeeded, who being troubled in conscience with what her father's and brother's advisers had caused them to do, most piously restored the Catholic faith by establishing the same again in this realm: as also by extinguishing the schisms and heresies which at that time began to flame over her territories. For which God poured out His wrath upon most of the malefactors, and misleaders of the nation.

We further entreat your Ladyship to consider the *supremacy* of the Church of Rome. And histories yet make mention that Athanasius was expelled by her and her council in Liberius's time; the Emperor also speaking against him for withstanding the head of the church.

These ancient things we lay before your Majesty, hoping God will turn your heart, and, in fine, make your Majesty's evil advisers ashamed, and to repent

their heresies. God preseve your Majesty. Which be the prayers of

NICOLAS HETHE, JAMES TURBERVILLE,
EDMOND BONNER, DAVID POLE.
GILBERT BOURNE,

Elizabeth was not so angry with the Marian bishops on reading this letter as were several of her Council, "who moved her" says Strype, "to punish them for their insolency"; but she replied: "Let us not follow our sister's example, but rather show that our reformation tendeth to peace, and not to cruelty"; and she returned the bishops this answer before rising from the council:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE DEPRIVED BISHOPS.

[Strype's "*Annals of the Reformation.*"]

GREENWICH, *December* 6, 1559.

E. R. Sirs,

As to your entreaty, for us to listen to you, we waive it: yet do return you this our answer. Our realm and subjects have been long wanderers, walking astray, while they were under the tuition of Romish pastors, who advised them to own a wolf for their head, (in lieu of a careful shepherd,) whose inventions, heresies, and schisms be so numerous that the flock of Christ hath fed on poisonous shrubs for want of wholesome pastures. And whereas you hit us and our subjects in the teeth, that the Romish Church first planted the Catholic faith within our realms, the records and chronicles of our realms testify the contrary; and your own Romish idolatry maketh you liars: witness the ancient monument of Gildas, unto which both foreign and domestic have gone in pilgrimage there to offer. This author testifieth Joseph of Arimathea to be the first preacher of the Word of God within our realms. Long after that, when Augustine came from Rome, this our realm had bishops and priests therein, as is well known to the wise and learned of our realm by woeful experience, how your church entered therein by blood—they being martyrs

for Christ, and put to death, because they denied Rome's usurped authority.

As for our father being withdrawn from the *supremacy* of Rome by schismatical and heretical counsels and advisers; who, we pray, advised him more, or flattered him, than you, good Mr. Hethe, when you were Bishop of Rochester? And than you, Mr. Bonner, when you were archdeacon? And you, Mr. Turberville? Nay further, who was more an adviser of our father than your great Stephen Gardiner, when he lived? Are not ye, then, those schismatics and heretics? If so, suspend your evil censures. Recollect, was it our sister's conscience made her so averse to our father's and brother's actions as to undo what they had perfected? Or was it not you, or such-like advisers, that dissuaded her, and stirred her up against us and other of the subjects?

And whereas you would frighten us, by telling how emperors, kings, and princes have owned the Bishop of Rome's authority, it was contrary in the beginning. For our Saviour Christ paid His tribute unto Cæsar, as the chief superior; which shows your Romish *supremacy* is usurped. As touching the excommunication of St. Athanasius by Liberius and that council, and how the Emperor consented thereunto; consider the heresies that at that time had crept into the Church of Rome, and how courageously Athanasius withstood them, and how he got the victory. Do ye not acknowledge his creed to this day? Dare any of you say—"he is a schismatic?" Surely ye be not so audacious! Therefore as ye acknowledge his creed, it shows he was no schismatic. If Athanasius withstood Rome for her then heresies, then others may safely separate themselves from your church and not be schismatics. We give you warning, that for the future we hear no more of this kind, lest you provoke us to execute those penalties enacted for the punishing of our resisters: which out of our clemency we have forborne.

Although no punishment was meted out to these bishops at

the time—save the mortification of being succeeded by "heretics"—most of them were placed under restraint in the following year. Bonner, who, as Bishop of London in Mary's reign, had earned his unenviable reputation in that Protestant stronghold for his remorseless share in the Smithfield burnings, was carried to the Marshalsea, while Hethe, late Archbishop of York, Bourne, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Turberville, late Bishop of Exeter, were all imprisoned in the Tower. None of the deprived bishops, however, was ever sent to the block, and not for years was anyone in Elizabeth's reign executed for religion alone. Less than a fortnight after she had written the foregoing letter—on December 21, 1559, to be exact—London witnessed the consecration of Bonner's successor, Edmund Grindal, by the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, whose own consecration had taken place three days previously. Thus this eventful year closed with the Queen fully committed to the religious compromise now known as the Elizabethan Settlement, as well as—though not yet so openly—to armed intervention on behalf of Scotland's rebels.

CHAPTER III

THE SIEGE OF LEITH

Elizabeth's Intervention in Scotland—Mary of Guise Recovers her Capital—A Forged Letter—Elizabeth's Terms—The "disordered Irishry"—Quadra's fears—Dudley "ruining the country"—The Treaty of Berwick—How Winter arrived in the Firth of Forth—French Designs against England—Elizabeth's Proclamation—The Tumult of Amboise—Philip's Need of Money—Glajon's Mission—His Treachery—The French Ambassador's Protest—Elizabeth's Angry Retort—The Siege of Leith—Mary of Guise Takes Refuge in Edinburgh Castle—Her Heroism—Mary Stuart's Grief—The Disastrous Assault upon Leith, May 7th, 1560—Elizabeth Determined to Wipe out the Disgrace—Death of the Queen Regent of Scotland—Treaty of Edinburgh—Mary Stuart and Francis II. repudiate it.

In throwing down the gauntlet to France so soon after her accession Elizabeth was again following in her father's footsteps, for it was in the early years of his reign that Henry for the first time fought England's ancient enemy, at that time allied to Scotland against the Holy League. Then England was left in the lurch by her allies, Ferdinand and Maximilian. Now she dared to stand alone—to the profound anxiety of Philip II., who was fearful of the consequences. "One of the chief personages of this Court, who is most intimate with his Majesty," wrote the Venetian Ambassador at Toledo in January, "when discussing the subject with me, said he strongly suspected that it will at length cause the renewal of the war between his Majesty and France, as, for the interests of the States of Flanders, King Philip could by no means tolerate the occupation of England by the French."[1] Elizabeth, however, still strove to convince the world in general and Francis II. in particular that she had no desire to break the peace with France; that her naval and military preparations were purely defensive, and that she had no intention of carrying them farther than Scotland. "In the absence of

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 149.

their Sovereign Queen," Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was instructed to say to "our good brother the French King," on his return to Paris at the beginning of 1560, "we would take the protection of that realm into our hands, to this only end, that it be not conquered. That hitherto we have forborne to intermeddle, and so would gladly continue, without any regard to their doings, were it not that upon consideration of the injurious attempts, as have been already shown in France divers ways against us, and the hostility prepared thereupon, we find no small danger ensuing to our realm if the realm of Scotland should be conquered."[1]

Meantime Mary of Guise was hoping against hope for the arrival of her brother, the Marquis d'Elbœuf, who was expected not only with an army to relieve her and punish her adversaries, but also with the Royal Commission from her daughter and son-in-law appointing him Regent in her stead, in order that she might return to her beloved France, "to obtain rest and relaxation for awhile from the burden and vexation she has endured."[2] This sorely-needed relief, however, she was never destined to enjoy, though her health revived surprisingly after her recovery of Edinburgh. The French troops strengthened her position by occupying Stirling, and she did her best to undermine the position of the Duke of Châtelherault by a forged letter to Francis II., offering in humiliating terms to make his complete surrender. The letter is printed as genuine by Miss Strickland:

THE DUKE OF CHÂTELHERAULT TO FRANCIS II.

[Strickland's "*Lives of the Queens of Scotland.*"]

GLASGOW, *January* 25, 1560.

Sire,

The pledge which it has pleased the Queen Regent to give me of your goodness and clemency, has emboldened me to write this very humble entreaty for you to receive me and mine into your grace, and that you will forget and forgive all past offences, especially some matters which I make my particular request to you. I herewith place my *blanc scellé*

[1] Hatfield MSS., Part I., p. 167.
[2] Labanoff, Second Supplement, Vol. VII., pp, 282—3.

[carte blanche, with his seal attached] in your hands, for an assurance of my fidelity to you and the Queen my sovereign, and supplicate you to accept the same; and after I have your reply, if you require me to do so, I will send my children to France.

The object of this forged letter was not only to discredit the Duke, but also to warn Elizabeth as to the amount of faith which she could place in the rebels whom she was proposing to help. So far as the Duke was concerned, the ruse for a time succeeded. The letter was shown to Elizabeth by the French Ambassador, and it was long before anyone would believe the Duke when he denied the authenticity of the document. His weakness as Regent before abdicating in favour of the Queen Dowager in 1554 left people too prone to accept the letter as genuine. The truth was only discovered through a later letter from the Queen Regent, intercepted on its way to the Cardinal of Lorraine, in which she acknowledged the trick, and complained that the French Ambassador had not made the most of it.[1] Elizabeth, however, was now firmly committed to her course. The Duke of Norfolk had already been despatched to the Border, where an army was to take the field under Lord Grey, Sir Ralph Sadler being instructed to assist in the council. William Winter, Master of the Ordnance, was sent to the Firth of Forth with the fleet of fourteen ships which proved the chief deciding factor in the situation, though delayed by the storms which sent so many of the French ships to destruction. His orders were to provoke a quarrel if he did not find one; to allow no French vessel whatever to enter the Firth; and if challenged to declare that he did all this on his own responsibility. He might be hanged as a pirate, but on no account was he to incriminate Elizabeth. The rebel leaders, well posted in his dispatch, looked anxiously for his coming every day. The great hope of the Scottish lords, as Norfolk wrote to the Council on January 20, "lies in the arrival of our ships, the sight of which in the Forth would double their courage, and cause a great number to rise and take part with them who now sit still."[2] They were suspicious of the Eng-

[1] Foreign Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. II., p. 481.
[2] Hatfield MSS., Part I., pp. 171—2.

lish army, though badly needing its help. "I think it not expedient," wrote Norfolk to Cecil four days later, "that we should seem to go about to occupy any part of Scotland, lest the Scots might hereby take occasion to mislike and fear our conquest, as now they do the French, whereby indeed, we might the rather cause our friends to become our enemies."[1] At the same time he realised perfectly well that until the Scots had plain proof of England's open aid the waverers would never take side against the French, and presently announced that he had arranged a conference with Lord James Stuart, half-brother of Mary Stuart, and future Earl of Murray, the Master of Maxwell, afterwards Baron Herries, partisan of Mary Stuart, the third Baron Ruthven, and Henry Balnaves, the Scottish reformer, who had at one time acted as Secretary of State to the Regent Arran. Here is Queen Elizabeth's reply:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[Haynes' "*Burghley State Papers.*"]

February 15, 1560.

Right truly and right entirely beloved cousin.

We perceive by your letters dated the 8th of February, that you have assigned a meeting and conference with the Lord James, the Master of Maxwell, the Lord Ruthven, and Mr. Balnaves, the 25th of this month, with whom how you shall proceed you do desire to be fully instructed, as a matter of such importance doth appertain.

In this matter we rest still of the same mind as we did at your departure home; and, therefore, although we might refer you to your former instructions given to you in December, yet by manner of repetition we let you understand that it remaineth very evident to us how great and inevitable a danger it should be to this our realm if the French were permitted to subdue the Kingdom of Scotland, either by force or practice. And, therefore, except it might appear to you, by conference, either with such wise and expert men as ye shall judge meet to take advice of, or with the

[1] Haynes' Burghley State Papers.

Lords of Scotland, that the nobility and part of Scotland themselves shall be able to expel the force of France that is presently there, or otherwise be able to preserve the kingdom from subduing and subversion, our former intent must needs continue to aid the part of Scotland in the clear expulsion of the French; whereby our Kingdom may be more free from the invasion of France; and if it shall appear to you otherwise, then we would be thereof with speed advertised. And in what manner and when this aid shall be given, if so it shall be seen necessary, shall be best considered upon conference with the said Lords of Scotland at your day appointed; with whom our pleasure is you should in this manner treat. First to make the matter very strange to them that in so long a time they have not, being in number many more than the French, expelled the French; next that the rest of the nobility of Scotland, and especially such as be in the Marches and Lothian, have not, in this cause of the liberty of their country, taken a plain part with them against the French, which if they had as it seemeth, that matter had not thus long been unfinished. And, after this declared, and answered, (as we think they will answer that with the lack of our aid they can neither expel the French nor yet cause the neutrals to take a plain part), we think meet you proceed with them to consider which is the best, the readiest and most likely way to expel the French, and what power the same shall require of their part, and what power of ours; in what time and in what manner the same may be best done: and whether it must be done by a short or long siege; or by assault, or otherwise, and with what charges by estimation the same may be done. And for all other particular things of importance, as for provision of victual, for carriage of ordnance and munition, for meat, for the horses, and for such like, we refer to be considered by you, and such as be expert in those matters. In the consideration whereof you shall have regard first that time be

not spent and deferred to the increase of our charge without any service; next that to the doing hereof, our charge and numbers be not greater than shall seem requisite for the effectual exploit, and for the surety of them which shall do it. In this part you shall also confer with them how they shall be able to keep their country free from a new invasion of the French, if by God's goodness they shall be delivered; and to inform you how and in what manner they will and may do the same; so as you may judge whether the same be probable or not. For you may inform them that the charge were intolerable for us to maintain a continual army by sea in those northern parts for that purpose; although they shall be well assured we mean not to neglect their defence. And herein may you do well to show them your advice how they shall best proceed to the preservation of their country.

Ye shall also let them understand that it is a thing most evident that the French will enter into an open hostility with us and our realm upon this our aid given them; and therefore it shall be necessary, before we enter into this evident danger, to understand what friendship we may certainly hope for of them towards the impeaching of the French, in case they shall invade us and our countries, as most likely it is they will. In which point, if you see convenient, you may by yourself, or cause some other, propound these two ways to be the best means—either to have indeed an aid of their men and ships by sea or land to withstand the French if they shall attempt any invasion in any part of the north of this our realm, or else so to establish a concord betwixt both these realms and especially upon these frontiers, as the one might live in a surety of the other without jealousy or doubt; by which means we for our part might better employ the charges now sustained in the guard of our frontiers against the French, and they also.

Besides this another means may be devised by means of Scotland and especially by the Earl of Argyll—that the north part of Ireland might be

reduced to a perfect obedience of England; and so the force which we have there occupied to subdue those disordered people, might be better employed to the defence of the realm against the French, which will now prove a common enemy to both. This matter as indeed it will be very beneficial to our realm in Ireland, so have we no doubt but the Earl of Argyll will be ready to do his best herein, having already given a signification of his good will and purpose thereunto. . . .

The efforts to subdue her "disordered Irishry" lasted throughout her long reign. At this period they were turning to Philip II. and the Pope for succour, and Quadra had tried in vain to persuade his sovereign to make use of such ready allies for the recovery of his lost influence in England. At the beginning of the year the Earl of Sussex, who was elevated by Elizabeth from the rank of Lord Deputy which he had held under Mary, to that of Lord-Lieutenant, called the Irish Parliament to destroy the Catholic religion and substitute the English ecclesiastical settlement. "The Catholic religion has been suppressed in Ireland" wrote Quadra to Feria on February 11, "although not without great opposition. I cannot write about this as I should like, as I am so troubled, and, perhaps, it would make your Lordship more troubled still, if I were to tell you what I suspect about it. Suffice to say that if we are content to let God's cause go by the board it will not take much to drag us down with it. The Queen rides out every day into the country on a Neapolitan courser or a jennet to exercise for this war, seated on one of the saddles they use here. She makes a brave show and bears herself gallantly. In short the people here are full of warfare and armaments."[1] The Bishop saw plainly enough that the time for mere words had passed if Spain was to save England for Catholicism, and stop the threatened rupture with France, which meant, as he foresaw, the triumph of the Reformation in Scotland, as well as in England, and the consequent impetus to heresy throughout Europe.

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I.

BISHOP QUADRA TO COUNT DE FERIA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

March 7, 1560.

. . . The coming of the personages to be sent by His Majesty hither and to France will do more harm than good if they are only coming to talk, as the Catholics expect much more than that, but in any case they will be too late, as the good or ill will be done before they arrive, the army having to leave here within a fortnight to attack the French. The Queen will have to take the matter up more warmly than she thought, as Randolph tells me the rebel forces are very few, and the Scots are making no move as she expected. She is in danger and much alarmed, and this is the time to do what ought to be done, but if we are to be always on the defensive, and to continue to palliate such things, I can only say patience! although I well know we shall never have such an opportunity again. All are with us, and the very heretics are sick of it. I do not presume to speak openly of the matter in this spirit, as I am not a turbulent or boasting person, and do not want to appear so. Lord Robert has sent Sidney to speak to me, and I have spoken plainly to him, and have even let the Queen see how pained I am. . . . He (Lord Robert) is the worst and most procrastinating young man I ever saw in my life, and not at all courageous or spirited. I have brought all the artillery I can to bear upon him, and, by my faith! if it were not for some fear of our own house I would soon give the historians something to talk about. Not a man in England but cries out at the top of his voice that this fellow is ruining the country with his vanity.

The Flemish envoy sent on the mission mentioned by Quadra—chiefly as a sort of forlorn hope to Elizabeth to settle the Scottish crisis—received the following letter from Philip before sailing, full instructions having already been given to him by the Duchess of Parma :

PHILIP II. TO M. DE GLAJON.

[Teulet: "*Papiers d'État relatifs à l'histoire d'Écosse.*"]

March, 1560.

Monsieur de Glajon,

I have no doubt that you will have heard of the matters which have passed between the King of France and the Queen of England on account of the soldiers whom the said Lord King sent into Scotland on the pretext of chastising his rebellious subjects, the said Lady Queen jealously regarding them as being intended for some other purpose. And, inasmuch as it is a far reaching affair, and one which my good subjects of the Low Countries may resent, I have considered it would be well for me to intercede, and set matters right in good time. I am therefore sending you to the Queen of England, the good zeal and experience which I have known in you having made me confident, not only that you will take up the charge, but also that you will know very well how to fulfil it.

The Flemish envoy fared no better than the Spanish Ambassador. "My own belief," wrote De Glajon to the Duchess of Parma, "is that she will endeavour to keep us temporising with words while she works her will."[1] The arrival of Winter's fleet in the Firth had already clinched matters with the wavering Scots, and on February 27 their leaders and the Duke of Norfolk concluded the Treaty of Berwick "for the defence of the ancient rights and liberty of their country." By this treaty Elizabeth bound herself to help the Scots to expel the French and not to retain any of the places which she might capture from them. The Scottish lords on their side were pledged to help Elizabeth in the event of any French invasion of English territory, and to decline to enter into any closer union with France than existed previously to Mary Stuart's marriage. Argyll also undertook to assist Elizabeth in the subjection of Northern Ireland. The story of the events following the arrival of

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 145.

Winter's fleet is told in Quadra's next letter, as well as in Winter's own account, describing the way in which he had contrived to carry out his mistress's Machiavellian instructions. This is Winter's account to Norfolk, in relating how the Queen Regent had sent a herald aboard to demand the reason of his visit and whether he came as an enemy :

I said I was sent by the Queen my mistress to conduct divers ships with ordnance, provision, etc. to her fort of Berwick ; and there being no sure anchorage there, I brought the fleet hither, thinking there was peace and expecting friendly entertainment ; but, coming into Leith Roads, the French forts at Inchkeith, Leith and Burntisland shot at me many cruel shot of cannon and culverin, and thereon, hearing their great cruelty to the Congregation of Scotland, and the captivity it is like to fall into, I determined to give them all the aid I might against the wicked practice of the French ; and that hereof the Queen's Highness my mistress was nothing privy." [1]

It may be doubted, as Froude says, whether falsehood so transparent was of real service to Elizabeth. "Such a mask is easy to strip off," as the Queen Regent wrote to Noailles. But it must be remembered that Elizabeth herself was surrounded by diplomacy which was equally treacherous. She was playing an utterly unscrupulous game in an age in which the end was everywhere supposed to justify the means. Her suspicions against the French were by no means groundless. The Spanish ambassadors were themselves convinced, as they told the Duchess of Parma, that though the French Ambassador assured them that the plans which Henry II. had conceived for the invasion of Elizabeth's kingdom had been abandoned, the real object of France at the moment was to separate England from Scotland in order to make this conquest of her ancient enemy the easier when the time came.[2] Quadra kept the Duchess well-informed of the march of events as far as he could understand them :

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 301.
[2] Teulet: "Papiers d'État," Vol. I., p. 527.

BISHOP QUADRA TO THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *March* 7, 1560.

. . . The other day the Queen's ships which went to Scotland entered the Firth and arrived off Leith fort, whence the French opened fire upon them and damaged two of the ships. The English shot at them and placed their artillery on a small island near the fort, but they could do no damage as they were too far off. In the meanwhile three French ships came up with munitions and stores, and the English went at them, and drove them ashore on the land held by the rebels, who sacked them, and they were afterwards taken by the English ships, which still remain at the same place, and provide themselves with what they require from the Scots by purchase, having refused to accept supplies without payment. The Queen Regent sent a trumpeter from Edinburgh to ask the English whether they came as friends or foes, and if they had been sent by the Queen of England and meant to help the rebels. The Queen says that Winter, the vice-admiral, answered that they had come there as friends, but had found enemies, and that the Queen of England having sent them to Berwick, the weather had forced them to the place where they were, and that they did not mean to help the rebels, only in so far as they were unjustly treated by the Queen Regent. The Queen Regent sent to ask the same questions of the Duke of Norfolk who was at Newcastle, and who answered that he came to the frontier only to protect the realm of England.

Five or six days ago both the French ambassadors, the old one and the one that has just arrived, went together to the Queen and showed her a letter from the Queen Regent of Scotland in which, as this Queen avers, there were certain injurious expressions about her. The rest of the letter contained an account of what had passed with the ships, differing, however, from the English account in saying that the vessels

had arrived there in perfectly fine weather in no need or danger, and they had replied to the trumpeter to the effect that it was true they had come to help the Congregation as persons who were being oppressed and aggrieved by the French. After the ambassadors had shown this letter, they said the Queen Regent would send hither a herald to ask on what terms this Queen wished to be with her, as friend or foe, and on the Ambassador Noailles leaving, he asked her to decide on this point, as he wished to send word to his master. She answered them very confusedly, and at last said she would send her decision. The next day she sent Cecil and Mason to them to say that she would be friendly or otherwise with the French according as they gave her cause to be. They then wanted to know whether the cause was already given, or whether it was only feared it might be given in the future. The answer was that they could best judge of that by their own actions and intentions. I think they have discussed here all the various grievances and complaints that both parties have against each other.

So far as concerns the arms and title assumed by the King of France, there would probably be no great difficulty in the French abandoning them, but as regards withdrawing their troops from Scotland and leaving the country to the natives, which is the point upon which all turns, they say they will never consent to it. The English on the other hand set forth that without this they shall never be safe, and the people whom the French call rebels the English regard as true and faithful subjects of their Queen, as they only seek to free their country from the tyranny of the French. In short they could not agree, and the ambassador sent a courier to France to be followed by the Ambassador Noailles. They feel sure that the Marquis of Elbœuf, who will leave Dieppe this week with ten ships, will be attacked by the English, and I believe they are not mistaken, as the Queen first, and Cecil afterwards, told me about it, and said that they

will use every effort to turn the French out of Scotland, and to prevent help reaching them, especially victuals, of which they are certainly in sore need. I do not see how she can deal with the French in any other way, or satisfy the Scots, whom she has promised not to come to terms, unless they do so first.

Before the end of March Grey's army of 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse had crossed the frontier to join forces with the Scots in the siege of Leith, whither the French troops had again retreated on Winter's arrival. The following Proclamation was issued by Elizabeth explaining the aims and limitations of her expedition, as well as the special grievances of England against the House of Guise. It was printed in French for the world at large, as well as in English :[1]

PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. VII.]

Although it is evident and notorious, not only to the Queen's subjects but also to many other foreign nations in all parts of Christendom, that great occasions have of late been given and continued by the French to fear an attack from them on this kingdom, principally by way of Scotland, and that her Majesty in like manner should prepare with all speed the necessary forces to resist them by the same way of Scotland, the Queen nevertheless, considering the great diversity of opinions which might arise among people in general about this affair, has willed briefly and openly to declare and publish her determination and its just causes to the world.

In the first place the Queen of her gentle and gracious nature has been pleased to believe that the title to this kingdom injuriously pretended in so many ways by the Queen of Scotland, has not proceeded otherwise than from the ambitious desire of the principal members of the House of Guise, who

[1] The English Proclamation is printed in the Foreign Calendar for 1559—60 (pp. 472 and 473). The Venetian translation, which differs from the English text, was probably made from the French version.

had lately made themselves masters of the government of the Crown of France; nor can her Majesty believe that either the King, who by reason of his youth, is incapable of such an enterprise, or the Queen of Scots, who is likewise very young, or the princes of the blood royal and other persons of high estate in France, to whom the government of that kingdom appertained heretofore, and ought to appertain during the King's infancy, have of themselves imagined and deliberated an enterprise so unjust, unreasonable, and perilous, as any person of good and indifferent judgment can judge this to be. And the said House of Guise, considering that for their private gain there was no other way to obtain it than by increasing the greatness and exaltation of their niece the Queen of Scotland, under pretence of whom they now meddle with the government of the kingdom of France, have thus injuriously and insolently set forth, and even in time of peace, in public places, have continued to appropriate the arms and titles of these realms of England and Ireland in the name of their niece, besides doing many infamous acts, as affirmed by many persons, without the knowledge of the princes of the blood royal and other great personages and sage councillors, long experienced in the affairs of that kingdom. To pursue the execution of this their unjust and ambitious resolve, they have availed themselves of the authority of the King and of the Queen, their niece, it being unnatural that she should seek to remove the Crown of Scotland from the hands of the native Scots; and so partly through the forces sent by them already under the aforesaid pretence, and partly [through the reinforcements] which are to be sent, they have determined to continue the attack on this kingdom of England, of which although to their great dishonour they have made their niece usurp the title, they still know that in no other way than through Scotland would they ever be able to accomplish the evident mischief they desire.

Her Majesty, therefore, having experienced in many calamities the singular goodness of God, and knowing the good right of her cause, and the natural obedience and love of her faithful subjects, and that these insolent enterprises proceed solely from the sinister comportment of the Guise family during the infancy of the King and Queen, without obtaining in any way the consent of the princes of the blood and of other great lords and states of France; and the Queen of her own nature and inclination having no other greater desire than to continue and preserve the peace with all Christian princes (most especially at this time of the occurrence of such unusual and difficult operations), especially with France and Scotland and all their subjects; makes known to all persons in general that although she has been compelled at her great cost to assemble forces both by sea and land for the security of her kingdom, having been challenged in this manner by words and by a false title, being moreover provoked by the vicinity of the French soldiers, and by the threats of their being reinforced from day to day, nevertheless she does not intend on this account to wage war, or to do any act of cruelty, but seeks and endeavours solely, having many times openly and amicably requested the Cardinal of Lorraine and his brother, and also through their means the King of France, that these titles and too insolent pretensions should be withdrawn and revoked, and that they should agree with the people of Scotland on a suitable and natural form of government, not departing from the due obedience to their Sovereign, as they themselves offer, so that they may no longer have to fear oppression and conquest; and consequently that the French soldiers in Scotland should be recalled, making compensation for their former attacks on this kingdom, it being too perilous to have them for so long a period so near England. That their recall may proceed more speedily, it has been offered to give them safe conduct, both by water and by land, for their

departure with all the favour and security that they could desire, and that according to the diminution of their forces those of the Queen by land and sea should be simultaneously reduced. Thus all cause for displeasure would remain buried in oblivion, and a firm and sincere peace be established. But to these demands, so conformable to equity, reason, and honour, though frequently made by her Majesty, she can by no means obtain a sufficient reply, although much time has been employed to her very great cost, and the evident ruin of the peace and friendship. Finally, her Majesty makes known to all that she continues and will continue to remain at peace with the realms of France and Scotland so long as no manifest invasion be made upon her dominions or people, and that she will procure by all good means that a union and good agreement may take place in Scotland, and that the French soldiers who are dissatisfied with it, may depart without harm and in security; but if they refuse to do so after all these good means have been employed, and after so many delays made on the part of France, they must necessarily then be made to retreat, without using any further violence whatever against persons either of France or of Scotland.

Her Majesty therefore commands and strictly enjoins all her subjects, of whatever condition they may be, to show all favour and friendship to all the subjects of the King, and to let them trade in all sorts of merchandise, as has been customary in the time of the best peace, and ought to be allowed, unless, however, the Queen's subjects be hostilely compelled to defend themselves or their country; and all her Majesty's subjects will in their discourse speak well and decorously of France and the French nation, and notwithstanding all these great injuries done lately to the Crown of England as aforesaid, the said subjects will not judge otherwise than is believed and judged by the Queen in person from her good inclination. Nor will they make other preparations

of war than such as may serve for defence against such injuries and enterprises as shall be made and directed against this kingdom (contrary to what her Majesty desires and expects) at the instigation of the said House of Guise, who now have in their hands the entire government of the King and Queen, until it be seen whether the said kingdom and people of France intend any longer to invade this country, and also whether her Majesty's present good opinion be not well received. Although this would greatly disturb and displease the Queen, by reason of the hindrance and delay of the general peace of all Christendom, which she declares above all things, it is not yet to be doubted but that the Almighty will aid and assist the forces of this realm to guard it against all dangers, and honourably to revenge the injuries done, as the case requires.

For the better understanding of all persons her Majesty has willed this to be expressly proclaimed in English and French, as although she had made a particular demonstration of the same to the King of France, and to the said Lords of Guise, as also to the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and to all the French Ambassadors in these parts, she has as yet been unable to obtain a sufficient reply, and her Majesty desires that it may not be hidden from them lest they be induced to believe what is contrary to the truth.

Given at Westminster on the 24th of March, in the second year of her reign.

More than mere coincidence is probably needed to account for the fact that this Proclamation was issued in French as well as English at the time of the Tumult of Amboise—"the first scud before a storm which," in the words of Froude, "was about to deluge France with blood," and now left her impotent at the most critical moment in the affairs of Scotland. "They know not where to turn," wrote Sir Nicholas Throckmorton from Paris in one of his letters at this period to Cecil. "He that all trust to-day, to-morrow is least trusted. You can imagine your advantage. Spend

your money now, and never in England was money better spent than this will be. Use the time while you have it."[1] The Guises suspected Elizabeth—probably not without some foundation—of knowing more than appeared on the surface of the inner history of that religious outbreak, which, like the Proclamation just printed, was aimed first of all at the heads of the House of Guise. "This has been the greatest conspiracy of which there has been any record, for there was knowledge of it in England, Scotland, Germany and almost all over Christendom." These were the words of the French Ambassador to the Spanish Court in describing the Tumult of Amboise to the Venetian Ambassador, when he maintained that Elizabeth was at the root of the whole trouble :[2]

Thus did I hear this event narrated by the French Ambassador, who in all his communications endeavours to represent the Queen of England as of a very restless mind, and that by means of religion she attempted to harass foreign States; accusing her, most especially to King Philip, of having been the principal cause of the disturbances in Scotland by constantly negotiating with the insurgents, and through the encouragement which she afforded them not only by counsel and promises but with troops and considerable forces, which she keeps near Scotland with the design of at length making herself mistress of that kingdom if she can. The Ambassador remarked to his Majesty how dangerous this mode of proceeding might be not only to France, but also to him, as he holds the Low Countries, which are very much corrupted with all these new heresies. By this office he so exasperated the King against Queen Elizabeth that, as the Ambassador himself told me, his Majesty assured him that unless she ceased to act thus, he would wage war upon her.[3]

If that was exactly what the Guises hoped Philip would do they were destined to be disappointed. Philip was no more able to wage war outside his own kingdom at

[1] Froude.
[2] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., pp. 171—2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

this time than was the King of France, having returned to Spain not only full of anxiety at the growth of heresy he had left behind in the Netherlands, but with something very like bankruptcy staring him in the face. "The King since his arrival in Spain," wrote the Venetian Ambassador at Toledo, "is in great want of money, because in Flanders the pecuniary supply which was made for the war served also for the expenses of his Majesty's household, whereas here the revenues are mortgaged for a long period, and the debts are very considerable."[1] So that all his talk of waging war on France's behalf was mere bluster, though M. de Glajon did not hesitate on his arrival in England to threaten Elizabeth with a Franco-Spanish alliance if she persisted in her Scottish campaign.[2] In his first interview he coolly suggested that she should recall her army from Scotland, whereupon Elizabeth, as Glajon told his master in his long-winded account of this discussion, "answered with some anger that it was too late to withdraw her troops, or to talk about reconciliation except sword in hand." As to helping the Scottish rebels, as the Spanish Sovereign had called them, she did not consider these people as such—otherwise, she declared, she would have to punish them herself:

She thought these people were only defending their Queen, and the rights and liberties of their country, and by helping them she considered she was assuring her crown and dignity. I pointed out to her in reply that your Majesty considered them as rebels, as they had risen against their sovereign, and had changed the religion, which could not be excused in any way. As regards the state of her affairs and her difficulties and expenses she replied that she hoped our Lord, whom she called upon to witness her sincerity in this matter, and Who had upheld her in worse perplexities and reverses, would sustain her in the future, and she put her whole trust in Him.

Finally, respecting the expedient proposed by your Majesty to send your own people to Scotland for her security, she answered that she thought no other

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 142.
[2] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., April 7.

forces should be sent to Scotland except by the King of France, although those he had there at present should be withdrawn, leaving the country at peace, and she asked me whether the King of France was willing that your Majesty should send your troops and subjects to Scotland. Thinking that she asked this question with no good motive or desire to accede to the proposal, but rather from curiosity, I answered that at present that was not the question, but only to obtain her views on the matter. We were not able, however, to get her to declare herself, although she showed no surprise. She began to tire of the long interview, which had lasted about an hour and a half, and on seeing this we asked her to be pleased to appoint another time to meet us and discuss the matter in the presence of her Council, and give us her final decision in order to advise your Majesty. She fixed to-morrow.[1]

Elizabeth did not attend the meeting on the morrow as promised, pleading indisposition, but the Council was no more to be frightened by Spanish threats than was Elizabeth herself. Bishop Quadra was probably more disappointed with this result than was the Flemish Ambassador, who had no love for the French, and warned the Spaniard in secret "that the Low Countries would in no wise endure a quarrel with England." The depth of diplomatic duplicity at this period is fully revealed in Cecil's entry in his diary on the subject:

"M. de Glajon came and joined with the Bishop of Aquila to move a revocation of the army out of Scotland, but Glajon privately to my Lord Admiral and me, the Secretary, counselled us to the contrary."

Quadra, also, was by no means unsuspicious of French designs, and though he distrusted England more, joined with the Flemish Ambassador in hinting to the Duchess of Parma that "all the actions and proceedings of the French are directed to bring us into hatred and distrust with the English, in order to have the course clear for themselves, and then arrange together without our intervention.[2] Each of

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 142—5.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 149—150.

them declined to be present when the French Ambassador read his formal protest to Queen Elizabeth in the presence of most of the members of the Council:

PROTEST OF M. MICHAEL DE SEURRE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. VII.]

Since the death of the most Christian King it has been openly seen that the King, his son, wished to succeed not only to the inheritance of his kingdom, but also the same zeal and affection for the repose and quiet of Christendom which had moved him to terminate the wars he had with the other Kings, his neighbours, and to establish between them a good and lasting peace and friendship; the said successor not having omitted whatever was fitting and necessary for its maintenance and conservation, as testified by facts, and most especially with regard to the Queen of England, his good sister and cousin, towards whom he has used every possible good demonstration in his power, both by complying with the obligation of maintaining the hostages in England for the affair of Calais, as also by preserving for English subjects in this kingdom free and secure trade and contracts, no one of them being wronged or injured without reparation. Nevertheless, the Scots in this time of tranquillity having rebelled and withdrawn from their obedience to the said King and the Queen, his consort and their sovereign Lady, for the reduction of whom he had sent armed forces, the said Queen of England has fitted out a strong and powerful fleet, and an army likewise, and sent both to Scotland, founding the cause of these preparations on her suspicion that the French forces now there, and to be sent hereafter, were destined for the invasion of England, as she alleged had been threatened, under pretext that the Queen of France, Queen of Scotland, had the title and arms of England. But the King of France gave her immediately to understand by his

Ambassadors the sincerity of his intention, and how averse he was to infringe the treaty, or attempt anything to the prejudice of the said sovereign Lady and her kingdom. To give her yet more certain testimony he has delayed the preparation of other forces destined by him for Scotland, and endeavoured to effect the reduction of the rebels by a favourable consideration of their misdeeds, which he was content to forget and to pardon if they tendered him their due obedience. Of this he has made declaration and offer to them, even praying the said sovereign Lady to mediate with them, to the end that this fact might relieve them [her?] from any suspicion and jealousy of the said forces, offering to remove the greater part subsequently, leaving only such as should be required for the security of his territories, and to ensure obedience; which forces would be in such small number as no longer to leave any reasonable cause for doubt on this account; and as for the rest, that the said King on his part would appoint envoys (should she choose to do the like) to settle the other differences which might arise between their Majesties, and treat them amicably, as declared by the articles of the said peace.

To this proposal the said sovereign Lady offered no other expedient for the decision of all differences except the total recall of all the French forces in Scotland within a prefixed period, without choosing to enter into further negotiation and dispute; which cannot but be deemed a very strange proceeding as, in this time of peace, negotiations are the mediators between Kings and Princes for the pacification of their differences, without its being lawful for one or the other to give laws or to impose conditions, which can only be applied to their own subjects and vassals. And what is worse, she has sent her fleet to Scotland, where it has made many depredations on the said King's subjects, both on its arrival on certain ships of war which were stationed for the safe custody of the Firth, and subsequently

on many other vessels laden with provisions belonging to the said King and to many of his subjects. She has also waged open war upon his ministers and soldiers there, to the point of endeavouring to land on the Island of Chaulx,[1] to take it by surprise, imprisoning many of the said soldiers, and doing many other warlike acts. This convinced the said King that the said sovereign Lady intended to proceed further, especially as no grounds were afforded by the King's forces, of the number of which he had always informed her, the causes of her complaints being alike groundless, as she has nothing to do with, nor anything to take cognizance of, in Scotland.

The King believes that he had given ample satisfaction by declaring his goodwill to maintain the said peace and by his offers to come to an amicable adjustment with her, as repeated by his Ambassador in England, the like being announced to her Ambassador resident with him. He has also appointed the Bishop of Valence, his Privy Councillor, a very worthy person, and of authority with him, and has sent him likewise to confirm to the said Lady his good intention, which is wholly inclined towards the repose of Christendom, and to the continuation of the good friendship between their Majesties; the Bishop being also charged to hear from her if she had still any scruple, so that he might give the King notice of it, and then proceed to Scotland to try and reduce the rebels to the obedience of the said King and of the Queen his consort, their sovereign Princess, through the clemency of their Majesties, who in that case offer to forget all their past misdeeds, and then to recall the greater part of their forces, and thus relieve the Queen of England from any further doubt on the subject. Nor on the other hand did the King omit to employ the mediation of his good brother the King Catholic with the said Lady; whereupon King Philip,

[1] *Sic; i.e.* Burntisland.

desiring the maintenance of peace, and well knowing the devastation caused by war, sent M. de Glajon to England. But notwithstanding so many good offices performed by the King of France, which easily make known to all Christendom the sincerity of his entire intention and aversion to turmoil, the King could not prevent the Queen of England from sending an army and fleet to Scotland, to expel the ministers and soldiers of the said Lords (King and Queen), as she has fully declared in a proclamation which she had printed, and which contains no semblance whatever of right, it being evident that this would be the way to deprive the King and the Queen his consort of the said kingdom, which would be a very unjust result, and moreover a very bad example to all Christian princes, that subjects who have rebelled against their natural lords should be thus favoured in their rebellion.

Of all this the King of France has chosen to make a declaration to Queen Elizabeth, having given the Bishop an express commission to this effect, and again to renew the assurance of his desire for the preservation and duration of the peace, and the offer of an amicable negotiation, as previously proposed to the Queen; which the said Ambassador did on the 15th of this month both to the Queen and to the Lords of her Council in the presence of Signor Florens da Jaceto,[1] who on the said day presented to them the King's letters, asking credence for him in what concerned this office; the Ambassador praying the Queen to renounce hostilities, and to refer their differences for decision to personages to be elected by one side and the other. They answered him that their fleet had been for twelve days near the little harbour ready to continue the undertaking for which the Queen ordered it to enter Scotland, namely, to expel the French; continuing the afore-

[1] The presentation of Diaceto *alias* Adjaceto to Queen Elizabeth took place on April 15, 1560. Apparently he merely said that the King of France was sorry to see her preparations for war.

said threats, and saying that the Queen did not intend to lose time from interested motives, thus directly infringing the treaty of peace.

M. de Seurre, therefore, and the French Ambassadors with the Queen, being charged to protest against this rupture of the treaties, prayed the aforesaid M. de Glajon and the Bishop of Aquila, Ambassador of the King Catholic, to be present before the Queen, that they (the French) might make the protest in their presence, and remind her of all the offices performed by the King of France to satisfy her in what was reasonable, for the avoidance of any alteration of the good peace and friendship existing between their Majesties, so that they might bear witness that the King of France had not failed to do what he could to adjust matters amicably; but they having refused, because they had no commission from King Philip to that effect, M. de Seurre referred them to the testimony of the writing, which he had put into form as above, and then replied by word of mouth to the Queen in the presence of the Lords of her Council; and having obtained leave from her Majesty to execute what had been commanded him on this subject, he protested on behalf of the King of France, as he again protests with all humble reverence by the present writing, against the rupture of those treaties, and that all the preparations made and making by his Majesty for Scotland were merely to recover the obedience due to him and to the Queen his consort, having on this sole account offered to forget every offensive act of his subjects, and to pardon the past, as he again offers to do, and to comply with the said treaties, by appointing persons to settle amicably what remains for decision between their Majesties, and also to use all such ways and means as may be used between friends, and render her secure by recalling his forces after the submission of his subjects. With regard to the fears she expresses about its being contrary to her interests to desist from her undertaking against his kingdom, and to

accept terms, the King of France will endeavour to defend himself and to preserve his own, protesting that if he is compelled to enter into a war, as the sequel to this commencement made by the Queen of England, it will be very greatly to his regret and displeasure, as the whole world may judge, and solely in self-defence.

Elizabeth took the protest in very bad part, as Quadra and his colleague afterwards told the Duchess of Parma.[1] Roused into one of her violent humours, there was no beating about the bush in her lengthy outburst in reply, which Froude condenses as follows:

You complain of the fleet and army which we have sent to Scotland. What were we to do? Have we forgotten, think you, your treachery at Ambletue, when our brother was King? You challenge our crown; you deny our right to be Queen. You snatch the pretext of a rebellion to collect your armies on our Border; and you expect us to sit still like children. You complain that we sent our fleet to intercept your reinforcements. It is true we did so; and the fleet has done its work; and what then?

Those cannon, those arms, those stores, which you sent to Leith were not meant only or chiefly for Scotland; they were meant for us. You tell us we are maintaining your rebels—we hate rebels: but the Scots are none. These men whom you call rebels are the same who fought against England at Pinkie Cleugh. It is you who are in fault—you who stole the rule of their country from them, overthrew their laws and sought to govern them with foreign garrisons. You have seized their fortresses, you have corrupted their money, you have filled their offices of trust with greedy Frenchmen, to rob and pillage them; and they endured all this till they saw their sovereign the childless Queen of a foreign prince—herself an absentee—and their country, should she die, about to become a province of France.

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 151.

With these facts before us we are not to be blinded with specious words. We know what was intended for ourselves—some of your own statesmen have given us warning of it. Your Queen claims our crown ; and you think that we shall be satisfied with words. You say you recalled d'Elbœuf. The winds and the waves recalled him, and our fleet in the Forth frightened him from a second trial. You have given us promises upon promises ; yet our style is still filched from us and your garrisons are still in Leith. We have forborne long enough. We mean nothing against your mistress's lawful rights : but events must now take their course.

The English Protestant view was expressed at this time in a letter to Cecil from Lord John Grey, who had shared in Wyatt's revolt in Mary's reign, and only obtained his life through the intercession of his wife. The letter was written from Pyrgo, in Essex, one of the estates granted to him by Elizabeth :

LORD JOHN GREY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Haynes' "*Burghley Papers.*"]

PYRGO, *April* 20, 1560.

. . . My trust is that her Majesty will now go through with what she hath begun, because it is God's cause, the Commonwealth's safety, and her own surety. And as for King Philip's aiding of his brother against the heretic Scots, the Queen may (and she will not sleep her matters) win Leith, and put the country in some good stay before he shall be able to levy a man. There are but three ways to the winning of a fort—famine, assault and the mine ; the first is long and tedious ; the second is some loss of men ; the last is easiest of all, the ground serving for it. But what thing was there ever achieved or won by war without the loss of men and expense of money ? I know not what great ordnance My Lord of Norfolk hath with him, but if he have good provision of wheels, every ship there may lend him a cannon, and their

ships never a whit the more unfurnished; and so, while they trench for the placing of their battery, may with more safety and less suspicion enter their mines, for I know and remember well the ground, that I am sure the upper part of the town of Leith will be undermined. The coalminers at Newcastle will serve to do this well enough; therefore I pray you set it to work, that the Queen's money be not spent in vain, to our shame, her dishonour, and the great applauding of God's enemies and hers, the Papists I mean, as well abroad as at home. The Queen must so countenance My Lord Grey with some good entertainment, as she may put a new courage in him, and then let him alone; giving him his furniture. God willing, I mind to see you within these fourteen days, wherefore I say the less now. Thus with my commendations (from the bottom of my heart) to My Lady my cousin and you, I bid ye farewell in Christ.

Your loving cousin and assured friend to his power,

JOHN GREY.

The letter which the Queen's Council wrote to Lord Grey on bidding him God speed might almost have been written in answer to the above. It wastes no words in empty rhetoric, or long-winded instructions. Obviously, the Council meant, as Lord John advised, to give him good courage, and then let him alone:

THE QUEEN'S COUNCIL TO LORD GREY DE WILTON.

[Haynes' "*Burghley Papers.*"]

After our hearty commendations. We will not trouble your Lordship howsoever you be occupied, but bid God speed you, and wish you all good fortune to accomplish this so honourable a journey as never the like was attempted for good to our posterity. Stick not to go through with this enterprise, and your praise will be more than all the rest of your life, if all your life were laid together. Take heed of French

enchantments; they will win time of you, if you take not good end. Well, thus we leave your Lordship to your business.

Unfortunately Lord Grey, though full of courage, and eager to atone for his loss of Guisnes in 1558, failed to fulfil the high hopes which had been centred in him. The new siege of Leith, where the French troops were under the command of D'Oyssel, resolved itself for the first month into a series of parleys and ineffective skirmishes. "My Lord Grey," wrote Norfolk, who remained with the reserves at Newcastle, to Cecil on April 26, "showeth himself forward enough, but all is not in him that hath been thought. I am a subject and will obey, but if with my allegiance I may, I will rather lie in prison than ever come such a journey, where another shall have the doing and I the burthen. . . . The mariners [Winter's sailors] offer, if they might have the spoil, they will enter it, or die therefore. There is no defence to the water side, but borders with sand cast against it; and no other part of the town much stronger, except it be towards the north-west part, where they have made a citadel which will serve them to small purpose when they have lost the nether part of the town."[1]

Meantime, on the approach of the English army, the Queen Regent had taken refuge in Edinburgh Castle, held by the neutral Lord Erskine. She was slowly dying from dropsy, and knew that her days were numbered, but nothing could daunt her courageous spirit, and to the last she remained the most heroic figure of the campaign. While the siege of Leith was in progress John de Monluc, the Bishop of Valence, had been sent to Scotland by way of the English Court, as stated on p. 108, assuring Elizabeth that his sole desire was to satisfy her Majesty in the matter. Once in Scotland, however, where his protracted negotiations took the heart out of the siege, his efforts, in concert with the Queen Regent, were aimed solely with the view of striking a bargain with the Scots at England's expense. Happily this double dealing was doomed to failure, the plot so cunningly devised collapsing because the Scots, to their credit, declined to renounce their alliance with their allies, though Monluc and

[1] Haynes' Burghley Papers.

the Regent promised, if they would do so, to send away all the French troops, to grant a general pardon to the rebels, and guarantee them liberty of conscience. "The parley broke up," wrote the Queen Regent in an intercepted letter to D'Oyssel, "on the article of the league with England, for they would not revoke their hostages, and would have put the matter to the Estates. They are gone so far they cannot get out of it; whereof I can very well make profit, and will not fail to publish it. My health is better, but I am still lame," she adds, "and have a leg that assuageth not from swelling. If any lay his finger upon it, it goeth in as into butter. You know there are but three days for the dropsy in this country."[1] The grief of Mary Stuart when she learned how her mother was situated—without hope of further help being sent her for months—is described by the Venetian Ambassador at the Court of France:

> When the great danger of the Queen Regent was known here, she being at the mercy of the English, the most Christian Queen [Mary Stuart], both on account of her mother, lest she remain prisoner, as also from her Majesty's own fear for the loss of her kingdom, would take no sort of comfort or consolation given her either by the most Christian King, by the Queen-mother [Catherine de' Medici], by her uncles, or by the other Princes or Princesses of the Court; she shed most bitter tears incessantly, and at length from anguish and sorrow has taken to her bed.[2]

Monluc had left the Queen Regent after the failure of his negotiations and proceeded to Berwick, promising a relieving army by July at the latest. Leith had provisions which were variously estimated as likely to last to June, July, or August. Up to the present the French troops had still proved more than a match for the undisciplined Englishmen, and the equally unseasoned Scots, weakened as they were by fatal jealousies and distrust. The allies were taught more than one rough lesson by the beleaguered garrison during this month, notably on one occasion, when a party of French-

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 389.
[2] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 198.

men, disguised as women, coolly walked round the English trenches, killed a sentinel who had probably suspected their identity, and carried off his head with which to decorate a pinnacle of Leith Church. On the following day, flushed with this little success, the Frenchmen made a surprise attack in considerable force, spiked all the guns within reach, and did not retire until they had placed a hundred and sixty men *hors de combat*, and brought half the investing army into the field. "It was one of the hottest skirmishes ever seen," wrote the Duke of Norfolk in reporting the affair to Cecil.[1] Norfolk grew increasingly restive, and Elizabeth herself, now that Monluc's treachery had been discovered, ordered the siege to be more earnestly prosecuted. Grey accordingly pushed his lines forward, and a succession of small successes led him to write hopefully of an early capture of the position. On April 30 a destructive fire broke out in the town and he thought that at length he had the place within his grasp. Yet the next day the French gaily undeceived him by a brave display of maypoles on the walls. At the beginning of this month, too, the Regent was able to send d'Oyssel warning of the disastrous assault which Grey delivered on May 7, goaded to desperation by these and other humiliations, as well as by impatient messages from Court:

THE QUEEN REGENT OF SCOTLAND TO D'OYSSEL.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

May, 1560.

Since the arrival of the enemy outside Leith, I have heard nothing from you. I have sent divers letters to you, and have learned that they have been all taken in going. The negotiation is broken upon the coming of the English, because our folk will not, or cannot, leave off, and it is now eight days since they went hence. The Queen of England continueth her dissimulations: but for all that, the King resteth not so much thereupon, but that he hath advertised the King of Spain thereof, who hath promised to let

[1] Hatfield MSS. I., p. 211.

him have ships and victuals. The King in the meantime hath caused four and twenty great ships to be armed to be sent hither, with other force, which he causes to be made ready. This is the substance of a letter sent to the Bishop of Valence. . . .

A man, of late, which arrived from London, hath promised to Lord Grey to separate, within three days and nights, the new bulwark of St. Anthony from the town, so as it shall be easy for them to assail the rest of the town, wherefore provide for it on that side. The Lord Grey vaunteth that by Monday or Tuesday night, which shall be the 6th or 7th day of May, he will enter into the town, or it shall cost him many of his men, and their meaning is to give the assault at the break of day. They have required that the Lords, Lairds, and Scots' gentlemen take every one of them an English gentleman of like degree by the hand when they go to the assault.

It was this warning, and the fact that the storming parties were furnished with scaling ladders six feet or more too short[1] which helped as much as anything to give the victory to the French veterans on that humiliating day for the allies. As the men scrambled to the top of the useless ladders in the dim light of early morning, they were met by a devastating storm of shot, stones, and blazing pitch. Even the Scots-women of the town—"the Frenchmen's harlots" as they were called—joined in the defence, loading the guns, or carrying scalding water to the battlements. "The dying Mary of Lorraine," writes Froude in describing the scene in one of his most eloquent—but surely misleading—passages, "had been carried from her bed to the walls of the Castle [Edinburgh] to watch the fight. As the sun rose out of the Forth, she saw the English columns surge like the sea waves against the granite ramparts, and like the sea waves fall shattered into spray." Froude's picture is doubtless drawn from Knox's incredible account of this alleged incident, but it has been pointed out that dropsy, in the case of the dying Queen Regent, had probably affected her eyesight so seriously that she would be able to distinguish little or nothing across

[1] Hatfield MSS., Vol. I., p. 219.

the two miles which lay between the walls of Edinburgh Castle and the ramparts at Leith. Lord Grey broke the unwelcome news to Norfolk in a joint letter signed also by Lord Henry Scrope, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir James Croft and Sir George Howard:

LORD GREY, &c. TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

LEITH CAMP, *May* 7, 1560.

We should be glad to advertise you of good success: but such as it is, your grace must needs understand it. Yesterday, devising all possible ways and means to achieve the enterprise, according to your grace's often advertisement, we caused the ordnance officers to make two breaches, one on the west side of the town, on both sides of the river which is impaled; the other on the bulwark of the church on the south-west side, and the curtain of same: their pieces being planted the night before. Both breaches being made, though not so well as we would have wished it, we ordered the assault as your grace shall see by the enclosed writing. This morning before day we had our men in the field, and at daybreak attempted assault, and if they had kept order and valiantly gone to it, surely the town had been won. But by their disorder and cowardice, for indeed (except the small number of the Berwick bands) they are but raw soldiers, without skill for such hot work as appertains to a well manned and defended town like Leith, we were repulsed with heavy loss, the number we cannot presently advertise —but we think we have 1,000 hurt and slain. We shall not be able to maintain more assaults, seeing our small power—but we think we can keep the field. As our chief leaders and best soldiers are slain and hurt, we find ourselves in very ill case, and beseech your grace's direction in that behalf. Our men are much wearied and toiled with watch and ward, which we are forced to make very strong to guard our ordnance and trenches; and we would fain

have a greater power of Englishmen if possible, for there is no trust to be given to the Scots. Our powder and munition are greatly wasted, and our store of sheaf arrows wholly spent. While sorry we have no better news, yet comfort ourselves that we have done, and shall do, our utmost duty, and are not the first that have been repulsed at an assault.

The English army had a thankless task from the first. It was not only suspected in the field, but the citizens of Edinburgh displayed little of the milk of human kindness even for the wounded after this repulse. "We are so well esteemed here," wrote Sir George Howard to Norfolk on the day of defeat, "that all our poor hurt men are fain to lie in the streets, and can get no house room for money. Horse-meat is so dear that our soldiers cannot live on their wages." [1] Elizabeth was full of wrath when news of the disaster first reached her ears, as the long-suffering Cecil found to his cost:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON.

[Forbe's "*Full View of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*"]

WESTMINSTER, *May* 13, 1560.

. . . God trieth us with many difficulties. The Queen's Majesty never liked this matter of Scotland. You know what hangeth thereupon: weak-hearted men and flatterers will follow that way. And now, when we look for best fortune, the worst comes. Upon Tuesday the 7th of this month, our men offered an assault to Leith; and being not assaultable, they were repulsed with the loss of a thousand men: never a captain was slain, nor any of any value, but officers and sergeants of bands. My Lord Grey is over doubtful. My Lord of Norfolk hath sent a supply, and like a prince of great honour and wisdom mindeth the reinforcement. The Queen's Majesty also mindeth the achieving of this matter so earnestly as nothing shall be spared. Order is given

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 398.

to send both men, money and artillery with all possible speed. I have had such a torment herein with the Queen's Majesty as an ague hath not in five fits so much abated.

It only needed this set-back to fill Elizabeth with enthusiasm for the Scottish cause. Sir Peter Carew was at once dispatched to find out on the spot the true reason for the failure, the exact number of Scots and English slain, and "to assure the lords of Scotland the Queen will never give up this enterprise till she has this revenged, and that land set at liberty." To the Duke of Norfolk the Queen wrote in similar comforting strains:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[Haynes' "*Burghley Papers.*"]

May 11, 1560.

Right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin, we greet you well. By the Lord Grey's letters of the 7th hereof, we perceive that on Tuesday last an assault was given to Leith, wherein, by means of disorder, our men had a repulse; and that as it seemeth the place was not assaultable there was not any second assault given; nor, as we can understand, the Lord Grey will not, with the number which he hath, venture to give another assault, but will keep the field and siege. We be sorry to see that the success was no better, but considering the importance of the matter will neither suffer delay, nor retire, but that the enterprise must needs be achieved, for the honour and surety of our realm and ourselves, we mean further so to reinforce this matter with all manner of things lacking that it shall not by God's grace be left undone. And, therefore, where you have taken order to levy within your Lieutenancy two thousand new men, we mean also to send with all speed two thousand more, out of the shires that lie next to your Lieutenancy. And we would that you should presently recomfort our army in Scotland with assurance of a speedy reinforcement; and to let

them know that there shall lack nothing that may accomplish the enterprise ; but that yourself will rather come in person with a main power, than it should not be speedily accomplished to our honour.

Writing to Cecil on the same day (May 11) Lord Grey declared that the number defeated at the repulse was "nothing so much as bruited, but our men continually run away to England, both by sea and land."[1] Sir Peter Carew's statement to the Queen certifies that only about 120 were slain, "whereof a third were Scots. All agree," he added, "that the battery prevaileth not, and that the only way to win is by sap or famine."[2] He also confirmed suspicions already aroused that the Queen was being "marvellously robbed," in the Anglo-Scottish camp, where the monthly charge of the whole army amounted to £20,000, thousands of men being charged for who were not serving in the camp. Sir James Croft, the Governor of Berwick, was accused by Norfolk of being one of the chief offenders in this respect, in addition to discouraging English friends in Scotland, and wholly neglecting his duty on the day of the great assault. "I thought a man could not have gone nigher a traitor, and have missed, than Sir James Croft," wrote the Duke to Cecil, who was then himself in Scotland, dispatched to the theatre of war with Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, in order to see what diplomacy could do on the spot to bring the war to an end. It was reported that the Queen Regent's life was hanging by a thread; that the besieged town, now that English reinforcements had reached it, and made a closer investment possible, was running perilously short of food; and that the French garrison had little hope of help arriving before August—and then only in the problematical event of Philip of Spain's assistance. The time was ripe, therefore, for fresh negotiations with the French Commissioners, who included the Bishops of Valence and Amiens, M. de Randan, M. la Brosse, and M. D'Oyssel. "I expect they will do no more than hitherto," wrote Quadra suspiciously on June 3,[3] "as the

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 404.
[2] Hatfield MSS., Part I., p. 227.
[3] Spanish Calendar.

Queen expects to reduce Leith by hunger, and the French are not in earnest, but hope to arrange with the rebels, and then try their designs on this country." The Venetian Ambassadors in France were nearer the truth when, towards the close of the following letter, they suggested that the increasing unrest throughout Christendom would compel France to accept any fair adjustment of her affairs in Scotland. Thirty thousand Huguenots were expected to rise in the spreading revolt in her own country, where the Guises went daily in fear of their lives. Spain, too, had just suffered a crushing defeat in the Mediterranean at the hands of the Turks, and there was no chance now of a Spanish fleet arriving in the Forth to help the beleaguered Frenchmen:

THE VENETIAN AMBASSADORS IN FRANCE TO THE DOGE AND SENATE.

[*Venetian Calendar:* Vol. VII.]

RAMORANTIN, *June* 3, 1560.

To-day, when discoursing with the Cardinal of Lorraine about these affairs of England and Scotland, and on our asking what news had been brought by a gentleman who arrived thence yesterday, his Right Reverend Lordship announced the presence in England of M. de Randan, who had arranged a conference on the 5th instant to be held on the frontiers between the Queen's ministers and those of the most Christian King, which was to be attended by the Scottish chiefs, to negotiate an adjustment, for which purpose each side had named five individuals, the English delegates having already left London for the site of the conference. The Cardinal added that the most Christian King, for the sake of avoiding delay and impediments to the adjustment, had not chosen to give any further instruction to M. de Randan about its conditions, referring them absolutely to the will of the Queen Regent in Scotland, who might according to her opinion conclude any treaty whatever, which would be approved and ratified without contradiction by his most Christian Majesty and the Queen his consort.

Concerning Little Leith the Cardinal said that a yeoman of the chamber in the service of his most Christian Majesty, who departed thence on the 9th ultimo, and came hither by way of Flanders, related that the English troops had three times assaulted the place, twice by day and once by night, with scaling ladders, and that they had on each occasion been repulsed with much loss, more than six hundred of them having been killed the first time, so that now the remainder of the English do not exceed from 3,000 to 4,000, the Scots being rather more in number. Having seen that cannonading and assaults were fruitless, and having withdrawn the artillery, they commenced raising forts about the place to besiege it, as was done at La Mirandola, but the French commanders, as they assured his Majesty that they were not in the least afraid of being stormed, so with regard to siege they sent to say they were provisioned for the whole of July; the Cardinal adding his belief that they were victualled for a still longer period. He said that the Scots began to have greater suspicion and anxiety about the English, mutual distrust existing more openly between them than they had about the French; wherefore the Queen of England did not cease arming to the utmost by land and sea, having detained a great number of ships, both of Venetians and other foreigners and of the kingdom, that she may increase as much as possible her fleet now at sea, impressing men by force on board, her object being to fight the French fleet and prevent its landing reinforcements in Scotland, should the war continue. It is also that the said Queen has given a subsidy to the Duke of Holstein,[1] brother of the King of Denmark, who has been in England for many months, for 7,000 foot and 1,000 German horse, who are already mustered for the service of the said Queen; and she has taken till the 1st of July either to dismiss them

[1] The Foreign Calendar shows that he was in London on April 9, 1560, that the Queen made him a K.G. at Greenwich on June 20, and that he left England on June 28.

entirely or to send the supplement of their pay so as to remove and embark them for England, hoping that by that date the conclusion or rejection of the agreement will have been accomplished.

I hear on good authority that the French Ministry suspect that in addition to these preparations the movements heard of in Germany are perhaps not for the affairs of Metz, the Cardinal himself having told me that not only the Emperor but almost all the Princes were arming, naming to us the Count Palatine, the Duke of Würtemburg, the Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Saxony, and others. Hence France is expected to consent to any fair adjustment of the affairs of Scotland and England.

The English case is stated by Cecil and Wotton in the letter which they sent from Newcastle, explaining to the Privy Council the objects of their journey :

SIR WILLIAM CECIL AND NICHOLAS WOTTON TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

[Haynes' "*Burghley Papers.*"]

NEWCASTLE, *June* 11, 1560.

Your Lordships shall perceive by the Queen's Majesty's letters, that now we be all going into Scotland, and besides divers other causes, two principally move us to accord thereunto ; the one is the danger of the Queen's life, and the discourage in the town, shall rather provoke the Ambassadors to be more ready to accord : the other is, we see that without being nigh the place we shall not without loss of much time come to an end. We trust on Saturday to be at Edinburgh, and on Sunday in the afternoon, and Monday in the forenoon to enter into substantial talk. The supply of the southern men cometh very slowly, although, as we hear by report, marvellously chargeable to the people by new devices in arraying of the soldiers. We look hourly to hear of the state of the Queen Dowager. On Saturday she was, we hear, speechless. The report is that the town is much destitute of victuals, but until we know the

truth more certainly, we will not affirm it, for some suspicion that we have of the contrary. True it is that D'Oyssel offered to Sir Henry Percy[1] to have some communication, being afraid of the Lord Grey's cruelty.

We think it were not amiss to let it be understood to the King Catholic's ministers that we be entered into a very good way towards accord, and that we find things not so hard to accord as was doubted upon; and by this means it shall be reason that the King of Spain be neither at cost of sending his ships nor at pain to name umpires. And so we leave your good Lordships.

Postscript.—Your Lordships shall perceive by my good Lord of Norfolk's letter that he is advertised of the Queen Dowager's death. Hereupon will follow sundry alterations. If the French return now without following their commission, although we will provoke them to continue, what shall we do? If they require the presence of some of their colleagues in the town we will not allow it without your order. If they require assistance of other Scotsmen, that were French, which we think not unreasonable, although we think none will be so bold, what shall we do? Of these things we beseech your Lordships to think and to advertise us of the Queen's Majesty's pleasure.

Your Lordships humbly at command,

W. Cecil, N. Wotton.

The passing of Mary of Guise broke the back of the French defence at Leith. How bravely the Regent held out has already been shown, and the last scene of all—her dying farewell to her rebellious nobles—is one of the familiar, as well as one of the most moving incidents in Scottish history. "There was none of so hard a heart or stout a stomach, or adamant a heart" in all the grievous company summoned to her deathbed, wrote Lesley, "but was

[1] Brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and afterwards his successor, who commanded the English cavalry in Scotland.

moved to tears." "Your serenity may imagine the regret of these Guise Lords, her Majesty's brothers," remarked Giovanni Michel, in describing the reception of the news in France, "as well as of the most Christian Queen, who loved her mother incredibly, and much more than daughters usually love their mothers."[1] In another letter the same Ambassador relates how the news was concealed from Mary Stuart for more than a week, and how when at length it was broken to her by the Cardinal of Lorraine, "her Majesty showed and still shows such signs of grief that during the greater part of yesterday she passed from one agony to another."

Cecil did not fail to make full use of the advantage which this new turn of events gave him and his colleagues over the French Commissioners in the peace negotiations, though there was endless wrangling with them over the final details. "We departed from Berwick on Saturday so late by quarrelling and spending of time with the French about those articles," he wrote with Wotton on June 19, in describing the progress of the conference, "that some of us were constrained to lie that night in our clothes."[2] Cecil's policy is disclosed in his next letter, which also shows, towards the end, on what familiar terms he could address her Majesty on the delicate subject of a husband:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Wright's "*Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

EDINBURGH, *June* 21, 1560.

It may please your most excellent Majesty, since our common letters of the 19th, wherein we declared how far we had proceeded to that time, we find that this abstinence hath done us much good divers ways. The strength of the town hath been quietly and truly viewed; there hath been also means used to draw some special men out of the town from the French; and at this present I perceive the men of war make little doubt of winning the town, having the army

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 228—9.
[2] Haynes' Burghley Papers.

here to besiege it. Nevertheless, I and Mr. Wotton take another way, and mean to obtain that by treaty with a peace to follow that others would by loss of blood, with a war to follow. We doubt not but to obtain all reasonable things saving surety towards both these realms, and such is the case being betwixt a Prince and subjects, as we know not how to provide for surety of subjects against all adventures, without such dishonour to the Prince as neither will be granted, nor can be reasonably demanded for subjects. I assure your Majesty, these cases be marvellous difficult to resolve, and yet considering I know the French malice, and am wholly addicted to your Majesty's honour and surety, I would not yield so much to the French Queen's honour in behalf of her subjects, if your coffers were full to maintain but one year's war, such would be your honour, conquest, and surety. Our greatest difficulties at this present will stand upon the continuance of the league betwixt your Majesty and this realm, wherein I find the Scots so peremptory that they will stand fast thereto that they will never accord to break it of their part. Within two days it will appear what shall ensue thereof, for I see the French be as peremptory, so that except the moderation come of our part, I see no hope of accord. Thus much I am bold to trouble your Majesty in this matter. I understand by Mr. Petre's letters,[1] that your Majesty would have me consider the advertisements out of France brought by Mr. Jones, wherein I am to seek what to write, for I think they be such things as are brought to your Ambassador to content him, but how certain they be I know not, and upon uncertainties I connot advise any certain counsel. I think surely France is disturbed,[2] but I see no likelihood of continuance . . . . The offer made of certain towns in Brittany and Normandy liketh me well, and the same would be so

[1] Sir William Petre, Chancellor of the Garter, and a principal Secretary of State during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth. He died in 1571.

[2] Alluding to the religious troubles in France.

allowed, but I cannot give your Majesty counsel to embrace things so far off. No strength is tenable that is far distant, neither behoveth it that the crown of England should enter into war without surety of all Britain. Profitable it is for time to divert the enemy by procuring him business at home.

If it should not please God to give us His grace to make a peace presently, (whereof I would be sorry), there be many ways to offend your enemy withal, without great charge, whereof I will forbear now to write, because I do bend myself to peace. This afternoon, Mr. Wotton and I should have heard the French and Scots' artillery, I should say articles of their treaty, but they be so long in planting that I think it will be to-morrow in the morning before the battery will shoot off. The French seek all the ways they can to put a jealousy in the Scots of us, so as we see what they shoot at; wherein if there were not more trust that the matters would keep them asunder and us together, than in any certainty of the nation of Scotland, I would fear more than I do. But surely the hatred to the French is such, and the causes so many, the benevolence at this time towards England is so great, and with such desert, that I see not that in long time the French shall recover the mind of Scotsmen against us as in times past hath been. Since the Queen's death, here be none that dare openly show favour to the French. The bishops that be most offended, dare not show any countenance to these men, nor dare come out of the castle for hatred of the common people. We did offer to the Archbishop of St. Andrews,[1] a guard to come to the Ambassador's, but he durst not, and so the French Ambassador went into the castle to him and others.

I will no more molest your Majesty, but use my continual prayer that God would direct your heart to procure a father for your children, and so shall the children of all your realm bless your seed. Neither

[1] John Hamilton, natural son of James Hamilton, first Earl of Arran, who had been made Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1546.

peace nor war without this will profit us long. Which, in the name of God (I am now a preacher), I humbly beseech your Majesty to consider earnestly, for otherwise surely God will require a sharp account at your hand, for your time lost, and the danger of bloodshed of your miserable people. I trust of your Majesty's pardon.

Your Majesty's humble subject and unworthy servant.

W. Cecil.

The history of the protracted negotiations is recorded by the Commissioners at great length in their subsequent correspondence, printed *in extenso* in the "Burghley Papers," but too tedious to follow here. Suffice it to say that the Treaty of Edinburgh, which was signed on July 6, was a victory for the English and Scots on almost every point in dispute. Cecil and Wotton, highly delighted, sent Elizabeth the following letter on the proclamation of the peace two days later:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL AND DR. NICHOLAS WOTTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Haynes' "*Burghley Papers.*"]

Edinburgh, *July* 8, 1560.

It may please your Majesty, yesterday the peace was here proclaimed, first in the town of Leith, in the presence of certain gentlemen of England, and next in the camp, in the presence of certain of the French. It seemeth surely very welcome to all parts. This day the artillery on both sides is withdrawing to places whence it shall be carried to-morrow to be embarked, and we herein employ ourselves to make all the haste that can be possible. As yet we cannot certainly understand the state of the town, otherwise than thus: The number appear to be many, and those which be seen are, for all their scarcity of victual, looking very well, and all very well armed. The French demanded yesterday shipping for four thousand persons, and we think they be not under three thousand soldiers, which, in all men's judgment, had been

able to have encountered a great number; and, if they had stood to it, should have been the occasion of the shedding of a great deal of blood, which is now well saved. As for the substance of our accord, your Majesty shall please to understand that it consisteth in these points:

First.—A reconciliation made, and the Treaty of Câteau Cambresis reduced to its former strength. Next, all the men-of-war to be removed, saving sixty in the isle here, which indeed serveth to no purpose, and so the French do see and confess; and sixty in Dunbar, whose new fortification shall be also, before your army depart out of Scotland, demolished. This town of Leith shall also be fully demolished.

Item.—All hostile preparation shall cease on both parts, and no ship shall be transported with men-of-war, or any warly apparel, out of France, or any other place, by consent of the French, into England, Scotland, or Ireland, nor any from England or Ireland into France.

Next to this, your Majesty's undoubted right to the Crown of England and Ireland is fully confessed and acknowledged, with a certain declaration that no person may use the style or arms thereof but your Majesty only; and thereupon followeth the part for the redress and reformation of all things anywise done to the contrary, both in France and Scotland.

And where we persisted in demand of Calais, and five hundred thousand crowns for a recompense, the same, as touching the recompense, is referred to a new Treaty to be had betwixt us at London; and if it be not ended by us within three months, then it is referred to King Philip for a twelvemonth, and if he end it not, your right and demand for the recompense is referred to your Majesty.

Next to this followeth the covenant to your Majesty for observing of the Treaty now accorded betwixt the French and the Scots; which article was as hardly obtained as any, and next to it, the recognition of your Majesty's right to the Crown.

After this, doth follow ordinary articles for observation and confirmation of this Treaty. And this is the sum of our Treaty, which, with the accord of Scotland, hath spent us sixteen days, that is from the 16th of June to the third of July, and of that time three parts hath been spent in according of the matters of Scotland.

Then follows a detailed list of the clauses in the separate Treaty with Scotland, by which France, among other concessions, agreed that all her troops should be withdrawn save an insignificant handful—120 all told—to be left under the control and in the pay of the Scottish nobles; the rebels were to be pardoned; the ordinary offices of the realm were to be furnished only with Scottish subjects, a Scottish council was to be appointed for the governance of the country, and the King and Queen of France were never to make war there without the consent of the three estates. The treaties were only signed by the Commissioners in the nick of time, for Elizabeth, fearful lest the Scots should obtain all the advantages, sent instructions to Cecil at the last moment that he was in no wise to abandon the demand for the restitution of Calais, and the payment of an indemnity for the usurpation of the English arms. In the event of the French Ambassadors not acceding thereto he was to break off negotiations. Luckily this letter did not reach the Secretary's hands until the day after the Treaty had been signed. His letter in reply shows how shrewdly he realised the value of this happy mishap:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Froude's "*History of England.*"]

EDINBURGH, *July* 9, 1560.

It may please your Majesty; the sight of your most gracious letter written with your own blessed hands, before I had deciphered it, raised me up in such height of comfort that after I perceived the sense thereof my fall was greater into the deep dungeon of sorrow than ever I thought any letter of your Majesty's should have thrown me. And yet after a season gathering my astonished spirits together, I am risen

into this opinion and comfort of your Majesty's accustomed goodness towards me, and of my own clearness of mind and soul, that when it shall appear by our letters sent from hence the 6th of this month how far we were proceeded, and that also it shall be well weighed in all parts how honourable and necessary this peace is, and how it could not be made any other way, your Majesty will not only take and allow our doings, but will think it a good luck that we had not these your letters before our conclusion; for so had no peace at all been gotten. For breaking off upon the matter of Calais, the French ambassadors would have departed and my Lord of Norfolk should have entered; whereupon must within ten days have happened one of these three things—either the loss of the town, and a perpetual dishonour of the realm—or a winning of it by assault, to the effusion of a great deal of Christian blood—or a taking of it by composition—by any of which three ways wars still should have remained; and then by what means Calais could have been obtained, I see not; nor by what means this manner of peace would have hereafter been obtained, I neither see, nor can consider.

As for the message brought by Tremayne,[1] God forbid that your Majesty should enter into that bottomless pit of expense of your force and treasure, within the French King's own mainland—being that manner of war to you more troublesome and dangerous than this of the French King here in Scotland; and yet this is his advantage, that the obedience of this is due to his wife and cannot be lost; and there your Majesty should have no more to further you but a devotion popular upon opinions of religion; wherein the French King, rather than lose that country, would not stick to incline to his people's request, and so your Majesty's purpose could not then last.

Indeed this I could and meant always to have

[1] There were two Tremaynes, one of whom was with the army at Leith. Both had been employed in carrying messages between the Prince of Condé, the Admiral Châtillon, and Elizabeth.—Froude.

allowed, that if ye could not come to a reasonable accord with France, but that they would continue wars, then your Majesty should have entertained that matter of Brittany and Normandy—to have therewith offended and annoyed the French King. But as to have taken and kept any piece there, experience of Boulogne being in sight of Dover teacheth us what to do; and when I consider that for charges neither is Portsmouth your own haven fortified, neither the town of Berwick—most necessary of all others—finished; I should think it strange to take Brest or any other town in those parts to keep longer than of necessity the French would maintain wars against your Majesty; which being now ceased, and to your great honour, I think it a happy mishap that your Majesty's letter came not before our conclusion. In which my opinion I most humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon me, submitting myself to your Majesty's reformation as becometh me.

The Spanish Ambassador had little faith in the value of the Treaty as a binding or permanent agreement. "In my opinion" he wrote to Philip,[1] "the French are dissatisfied, and the Queen displeased, and it may be feared that on the two points of the renovation of the league with the Scots, and the indemnity she claims of the French, affairs may again become embroiled, unless indeed the displeasure and grievance they both feel against your Majesty may lead them to think of something worse. I say nothing of French affairs, as your Majesty understands them better than I, although I do not like what I see of these ministers here; but, as regards this Queen, I can assure your Majesty she is so angry and offended at the thought that not only would you not help her, but had offered to aid her enemies, that it is to be feared that she will do all the harm she has strength to do. M. de. Glajon is aware how inconsiderately she one day showed her ill-feeling to him and me, saying that your Majesty was her secret enemy, and Glajon also knows how these people regard us, although the Queen uses extreme artfulness in

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 109.

trying to make me believe she is devoted to your Majesty." The French rulers were so dissatisfied that they were, in point of fact, determined to repudiate the agreement made by their Commissioners, who had pointed out how helpless they had been in the matter. It was their only means, they protested, of saving their four thousand gallant countrymen, whose lives were at stake. Afterwards they gave the Spanish Ambassador in London many reasons why the French King was not bound to agree to offensive clauses in the Treaty. "The first is that, as they were prisoners under guard all the time they were in Scotlend settling the terms of peace, and were not allowed to speak a word to the Scots or anybody else, they negotiated as prisoners, and are not now bound by anything they agreed to under duress. . . . It seems to me" added Quadra, "that they still hope to pacify the Scots and calm their distrust and suspicion, in which case this Queen would be finely outwitted; and would see her folly in interfering in what does not concern her instead of looking to her own safety. She is not so gay as usual lately, and is very suspicious since the French Commissioners spoke to her."[1] The clauses which Mary Stuart most strongly resented were those which renounced her claim to the English throne by abstaining henceforth from bearing the arms of England and Ireland.

Humiliated by the terms of peace, and incensed by the religious revolution brought about by the Scottish Parliament, which, having assembled in the following August, abolished the Mass and Papal jurisdiction—adopting instead the Calvinistic Confession of Faith—both Francis II. and his consort refused to ratify the Treaty. They were powerless, however, to prevent either the re-establishment of peace or the whole affairs of Scotland from falling into the hands of the Lords of the Congregation. The Treaty of Edinburgh not only ended the first bout between the rival Queens of England and Scotland, with a victory for Elizabeth greater than she realised at the time, but also sounded the death knell of French supremacy in Scotland, just as Elizabeth's accession two years previously had saved the English nation "body and soul," from the clutches of Spain.

[1] Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 172.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRAGEDY OF AMY ROBSART

Dudley's Ambitious Designs—Arran's Suit Revived—A Crowd of Rivals—The Tragedy of Amy Robsart—Quadra's Account—Objections to it—Dudley sends Thomas Blount to Investigate—Inquest and Verdict—Dudley Disgraced but Restored to Favour—Public Opinion—Throckmorton Warns Elizabeth—Mary Stuart on her Scottish Subjects—Why she Refused to Ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh—Her claim to the English Arms—Death of Francis II.—The Grief-stricken Queen—Elizabeth's Opportunity—Throckmorton Told to Mind his Own Business—Dudley's Marriage with Elizabeth Seriously Discussed—Philip's Half-hearted Support—Elizabeth Declines to Receive the Papal Envoy—A Venetian's Portrait of Elizabeth in her Prime—His Picture of her England.

THE patched-up peace again brought to the front the insoluble problem of Elizabeth's marriage, as Cecil found upon returning from his arduous and thankless task in Scotland. Dudley had taken advantage of his absence, as well as of that of his more out-spoken opponent, the Duke of Norfolk, so to strengthen his influence over the Queen, and his own position at Court, as to render faithful service well-nigh impossible. Instead of gratitude for what he had reason to regard as a great diplomatic triumph Cecil found himself discredited and abused. To his friends he spoke seriously of retiring into private life. Winchester, the Lord Treasurer, fully sympathised with him in a letter during the Queen's absence on August 24. "All good Councillors," he wrote, "shall have labour and dolour without reward: wherein your part is most of all men's, for your charge and pains be above all others, and your thanks and rewards less, and worse considered . . . . When your counsel is most for her Majesty's honour and profit, the same hath got most hindrance by her weak credit of you, and by back counsels; and so long as that manner continue it must needs be dangerous service and unthankful. Nevertheless, my opinion to you is to bear as you have been, till her Grace returns, and

then I shall play the part of a good servant, and do without fear."[1] Happily for England, as will presently be seen, a tragic stroke of fortune was about to happen which restored Cecil to favour, and he remained at his post as helmsman of the ship of State, which would have fared badly indeed in that storm-tossed sea had Elizabeth been left to steer it alone. On the Queen's behalf it may fairly be pleaded that the eternal marriage question, and the ceaseless round of unwelcome wooers, were, in the nature of things, enough to irritate a temper far more placid than that which Henry VIII. had handed down to her. Dudley made it easier for her than all the rest to enjoy the present, and let the matrimonial prospects take care of themselves. Quadra still kept the Archduke in the running in spite of her obvious insincerity. When he referred to him again shortly before the Treaty of Edinburgh was signed, she "talked all manner of nonsense, as usual, but I told her," as he informed Philip at the time, "that I knew she did not believe what she was saying, and I was fully informed that her real object was to make herself Monarch of all Britain by marrying the Earl of Arran."[2] Quadra was not the only one to pester her by reviving the question of that impossible match. The Scottish lords took up the matter so seriously that they sent a formal proposal for her hand on Arran's behalf, taking the precaution at the same time to notify the fact to the King of France:

THE SCOTTISH LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION TO FRANCIS II.

[Teulet: "*Papiers d'État relatifs à l'histoire d'Écosse.*"]

EDINBURGH, *August* 31, 1560.

Sire,

Having regard to the condition of the realm of England, which is so nearly our neighbour, and also of its Queen, who has yet to marry and is earnestly solicited from all parts of Christendom, it seems to us, not less for your Majesty's interest than for ours, a matter which is worthy of consideration by the Parliament. It would be too great a danger to us,

[1] Haynes' Burghley Papers, p. 361.
[2] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, p. 159.

and a very injurious matter to your Majesty, if she engaged to marry any prince who was not a well-tried friend or ally of your crown. This consideration has moved us to consider whether it would be possible for us to make such representations to her that she might content herself with one of your subjects, by which means we should remove this peril from us, and also do you a welcome service. By this course you would be assured of the good friendship of England; but on the contrary, if she should happen to choose another, it might disturb or, at least, diminish it. With respect to this we have resolved to send there expressly to solicit her, if it be possible, to take in marriage the Earl of Arran. Not only is he nearly related to the Queen our Sovereign, but he is very desirous to do his humble duty unto your Majesty at all times, because of the home he has had in France from his infancy. We leave it to your Majesty to consider the great comfort which would ensue, as much to your Majesty as to your kingdom, if, by your means, he could attain so great an honour. And on this, we very humbly entreat your Majesty that it may please you to instruct your Ambassador in residence at the Court of the said Lady to assist with his help and counsel those who are going to do their part there, and to advance the cause of his credit and authority as much as he can; which we have no doubt will be of much service. We are sending them in the greatest haste, because it has been reported to us that the Prince of Sweden is to be in England shortly for the same purpose, and it would hamper us to have a neighbour so great as he would be if he could combine the strength of England with his own. On this account we are of opinion that we must take time by the forelock, and we do not doubt that your Majesty, for love of your country and subjects, will also take this consideration in good part. And on this, Sire, after the very humble acknowledgment of our service and lawful obedience to your Majesty, we pray the Almighty

God that He may have you in His holy and gracious keeping.

The deputation to Elizabeth herself consisted of the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, and William Maitland of Lethington, the last of whom had quitted the service of Mary of Guise for that of her rebellious lords—realising the increasing danger of French predominance—and had recently played a large share in persuading the lords to sign the treaty of Edinburgh. Elizabeth assured the deputation that Scotland might count on her aid in all future crises which they might be called upon to face; but with regard to marriage she regretted that she was unable to accede to their request. This, however, she did in terms full of friendship for the Scottish nation, and respect for the Earl of Arran himself. Other suitors from abroad, or their Ambassadors, came and went with tiresome persistency. These for the most part returned with fair words and handsome presents, for not many of Elizabeth's lovers were lucky enough to be so definitely declined as Arran. "The Duke of Holstein," wrote John Parkhurst to Bullinger of one of these suitors, a nephew of the King of Denmark, who did not wish his neighbour of Sweden to capture the same prize, "has returned home after a magnificent reception from us, with splendid presents from the Queen, having been elected to the Order of the Garter, and invested with its golden and jewelled badge. The Swede is reported to be always coming, and even now on his journey, and on the eve of landing; yet, as far as I can judge, he will not stir a foot."[1] That was towards the end of August, when the Prince of Sweden, now Eric IV., was daily expected to plead on his own behalf, where his young brother, the Duke of Finland, whom we last saw in the royal gallery with Elizabeth at the tournament described by Noailles on p. 77, had pleaded for him in vain. Eric became first favourite among the royal wooers at this period. He had the reputation of being one of the best-looking men in Europe, and Elizabeth had not the same hesitation in accepting the shiploads of presents which he sent as earnest of his honourable intentions as in promising her hand without

[1] Zurich Letters. First Series.

seeing him. The enterprising printers of the day went the length of publishing prints with portraits of Elizabeth and Eric united—to the considerable annoyance of the Queen, who had the portraits confiscated—and great preparations were made for his arrival, expected towards the end of August, or the beginning of September. Of this, as well as of one of Elizabeth's playful moods, we have evidence in the following letter:

FRANCIS ALEN TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

[Lodge's "*Illustrations of British History.*"]

September 3, 1560.

The Queen's Highness upon Friday last came to Windsor; and, being every hour in a continual expectation of the King of Sweden's coming, who is looked for to be shortly here at Westminster; and so much the sooner as the works now there in hand may be finished and brought to any perfection; where they work both night and day. It is reported that against Allhallowtide her Majesty will call a Parliament, and that her Highness said she would do so when she was at Winchester. She liked so well my Lord Treasurer's house, and his great cheer at Basing, that she openly and merrily bemoaned him to be so old, "for else, by my troth," said she, "if my Lord Treasurer[1] were a young man, I could find in my heart to have him to my husband before any man in England."

My poor wife, your Lordship's gossip, has her most humbly commended; and your god-son, Francis, I thank God, waxes a jolly boy. I beseech God long preserve your good Lordship.

Your good Lordship's, most bounden to command,

FRANCIS ALEN.

Such was the uncertainty of intelligence in those days that the King of Sweden, expected hourly in England, had by that time been driven back to Helsinborg by storms which nearly shipwrecked him in the Skagger Rack. Eric,

[1] The Marquess of Winchester, who was then well over seventy.

however, assured her Majesty in his letter explaining all the dangers through which he had passed, that as he had attempted to reach her through the stormy seas "so would he at her first summons rush through armies of foes." If only she would forward a safe conduct, with certain clauses to the effect that he would not be compelled to agree to anything, and allowed to leave England when he liked, he would set out again in the following spring, his captains telling him that it would not be safe to continue the voyage that year. He loved her, he declared, better than himself, and wondered why she tormented him so long. The fault would not be his if the matter did not come to a good issue." 'No one," he added, "is so stupid as to continue to love without being loved." [1] It is not difficult to picture Elizabeth on reading such letters passing them on to her favourite, to enjoy a joke together at the writer's expense. Dudley, however, was about to receive a check in his ambitious career which threatened for a time to prove his entire undoing. This was nothing less than the tragedy of Amy Robsart, whose lifeless body, with a broken neck, was found at the foot of a staircase at Cumnor Hall, near Oxford, on September 8. Dudley was with the Queen at Windsor at the time, but popular opinion, always ready to believe the worst, at once jumped to the conclusion that he had murdered his wife by proxy, and that Elizabeth was a willing accessory. There was good excuse for the supposition, for the sinister rumours that Dudley meant to remove his wife in order to marry Elizabeth had been public property for months. That very fact, however, suggests the improbability of such a clumsy plot. Neither Elizabeth nor Dudley was thin-skinned or over-scrupulous in the niceties of honour; but at the same time they were not fools; and to have done the very thing which they must have known would recoil at once upon their own heads would surely have been the height of folly. The following letter, therefore, needs to be read with the utmost care, for though not so transparently full of misstatements as Scott's "Kenilworth"—still responsible for an incredible amount of popular error concerning the whole story—it

[1] Foreign Calendar, Vol. III., p. 324.

was apparently written with intent to deceive. Quadra, according to Throckmorton, who was not easily hoodwinked in such matters, was at this time in the pay of the Guises, and it was important from their point of view that Elizabeth should be so discredited that Philip and the Duchess of Parma would abandon her to her fate; or at least enable the Treaty of Edinburgh to be repudiated:

BISHOP QUADRA TO THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *September* 11, 1560.

Since writing, news of importance is current here which I convey to your Highness. The Queen told me she was sure the French did not lack the will to injure her but only the power, and that they (the French) had not dismissed any of their troops. She had promised me an answer about the marriage by the third instant, and said she was certain to marry, but now she coolly tells me she cannot make up her mind and will not marry. After this I had an opportunity of talking to Cecil, who I understood was in disgrace, and Robert was trying to turn him out of his place. After exacting many pledges of strict secrecy, he said the Queen was conducting herself in such a way that he thought of retiring. He said it was a bad sailor who did not enter port if he could when he saw a storm coming on, and he clearly foresaw the ruin of the realm through Robert's intimacy with the Queen, who surrendered all affairs to him and meant to marry him. He said he did not know how the country put up with it, and he should ask leave to go home, although he thought they would cast him into the Tower first. He ended by begging me in God's name to point out to the Queen the effect of her misconduct, and persuade her not to abandon business entirely but to look to her realm; and then he repeated twice over to me that Lord Robert would be better in Paradise than here.

I expressed sorrow at what he said, and reminded him how earnestly I had always tried to advise the Queen to act aright and live peacefully and marry. He knew how little my advice had availed, although the Queen willingly listened to me. I would not tire of well-doing however, but would take the first opportunity of speaking again, although I understood that it was hopeless to expect a peaceful settlement of her quarrel with the French. Cecil answered me in a way that seemed as if he would like to excuse the French. He said the Queen did not like foreigners, and thought she could do without them, and that she had an enormous debt which she would not think of paying. She had, therefore, lost her credit with the London merchants.

He ended by saying that Robert was thinking of killing his wife, who was publicly announced to be ill, although she was quite well, and would take very good care they did not poison her. He said surely God would never allow such a wicked thing to be done. I ended the conversation by again expressing my sorrow without saying anything to compromise me, although I am sure he speaks the truth and is not acting crookedly. The mishap of the Secretary must produce great effect, as he has many companions in discontent, especially the Duke of Norfolk, whom he mentioned.

The next day the Queen told me as she returned from hunting that Robert's wife was dead or nearly so, and asked me not to say anything about it. Certainly this buiness is most shameful and scandalous, and withal I am not sure whether she will marry the man at once or even if she will marry at all, as I do not think she has her mind sufficiently fixed. Cecil says she wishes to do as her father did.

Their quarrels cannot injure public business, as nobody worse than Cecil can be at the head of affairs, but the outcome of it all might be the imprisonment of the Queen and the proclamation of the Earl of

Huntingdon[1] as King. He is a great heretic, and the French forces might be used for him. Cecil says he is the real heir of England, and all the heretics want him. I do not like Cecil's great friendship with the Bishop of Valence. Perhaps I am too suspicious, but with these people it is always wisest to think the worst. The cry is that they do not want any more women rulers, and this woman may find herself and her favourite in prison any morning. They would all confide in me if I mixed myself up in their affairs, but I have no orders, and am temporising until I receive your Highness' instructions. Your Highness should advise the King not to wait until the Queen mends matters.

Since writing the above I hear the Queen has published the death of Robert's (wife), and, said in Italian, "She broke her neck." She must have fallen down a staircase.

As Dr. Maitland says in referring to this letter in the "Cambridge Modern History," the sagacity of the man who wrote it can hardly be saved, except at the expense of his honesty. "Those who are inclined to place faith in this wonderful tale about a truly wonderful Cecil will do well to remember that a postscript is sometimes composed before any part of the letter is written." Professor Pollard regards Quadra's remarkable story with the same suspicion, convinced that the writer intended to convey the impression of Elizabeth and Dudley's guilt "by a deft economy of dates." The news of Lady Robert Dudley's death reached Windsor on the 9th, and Quadra's conversation with Cecil and the Queen probably took place after it was made known—not before, as he makes out. In any case, Dudley at once realised the danger of his position, and on the evening of the 9th dispatched his cousin, Thomas Blount, to make full inquiries on the spot:

[1] Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, who had distant claims to the throne as a descendant of the Dukes of Buckingham and York.

LORD ROBERT DUDLEY TO THOMAS BLOUNT.

[Pettigrew's "*Inquiry into the death of Amy Robsart.*"]

WINDSOR, *September* 9, 1550.

Cousin Blount,

Immediately upon your departing from me there came to me Bowes, by whom I understand that my wife is dead, and, as he saith, by a fall from a pair of stairs: little other understanding can I have of him. The greatness and the suddenness of the misfortune doth so perplex me, until I do hear from you how the matter stands, or how this evil doth light upon me, considering what the malicious world will bruit, as I can take no rest. And, because I have no way to purge myself of the malicious talk that I know the wicked world will use, but one, which is the very plain truth to be known, I do pray you, as you have loved me, and do tender me and my quietness, and as now my special trust is in you, that will use all devices and means you possibly can for the learning of the truth, wherein have no respect to any living person; and as by your own travail and diligence, so likewise by order of law, I mean, by calling of the coroner, and charging him to the uttermost, from me, to have good regard to make choice of no light or slight persons, but the most discreet and substantial men for the juries; such as for their knowledge may be able to search honourably and duly, by all manner of examinations, the bottom of the matter; and for their uprightness will earnestly and sincerely deal therein without respect. And that the body be viewed and searched accordingly by them, and in every respect to proceed by order and law. In the meantime, cousin Blount, let me be advertised from you by this bearer, with all speed, how the matter doth stand; for, as the cause and the manner thereof doth marvellously trouble me, considering my case many ways, so shall I not be at rest till I may be ascertained thereof; praying you ever, as my trust is in you, and as I have ever loved you, do not dissemble with me, neither let anything be hid from me, but send me

your true conceit and opinion of the matter, whether it happened by evil chance, or by villainy; and fail not to let me hear continually from you. And thus fare you well in much haste.

Your loving friend and kinsman, much perplexed,

R.D.

I have sent for my brother Appleyard, because he is her brother, and other of her friends also, to be there, that they may be privy, and see how all things do proceed.

Blount lost no time in acting upon these urgent instructions. Here is his first report:

THOMAS BLOUNT TO SIR ROBERT DUDLEY.

[Pettigrew's "*Inquiry into the death of Amy Robsart.*"]

CUMNOR, *September* 11, 1560.

May it please your lordship to understand that I have received your letter by Brice, the contents whereof I do well perceive: and that your lordship was advertised by Bowes immediately upon my departing that my lady was dead. And also your straight charge given unto me, that I should use all the devices and policies that I can for the true understanding of the matter; as well by mine own travail, as by the order of the law, as in calling the coroner, giving him charge that he choose a discreet and substantial jury for the view of the body, and that no corruption should be used, or persons respected. Your lordship's great reasons that maketh you so earnestly search to learn the truth, the same with your earnest commandment doth make me to do my best herein. The present advertisement I can give to your lordship at this time is, too true it is that my lady is dead, and, as it seemeth, with a fall, but yet how, or which way, I cannot learn. Your lordship shall hear the manner of my proceeding since I came from you. The same night I came from Windsor, I lay at Abingdon all that night, and, because I was

desirous to hear what news went abroad in the county, at my supper I called for mine host, and asked him what news was there about, taking upon me that I was going into Gloucestershire. He said, "there was fallen a great misfortune within three or four miles of the town." He said, "my Lord Robert Dudley's wife was dead"; and I asked how; and he said, "by a misfortune, as he heard: by a fall from a pair of stairs." I asked him by what chance. He said, "he knew not." I asked him what was his judgment and the judgment of the people. He said, "some were disposed to say well, and some evil." "What is your judgment?" said I. "By my troth," said he, "I judge it a misfortune because it chanced in that honest gentleman's house. His great honesty," said he, "doth much curb the evil thoughts of the people." "Methinks," said I, "that some of her people that waited upon her should say somewhat to this." "No, sir," said he, "but little; for it was said that they were here at the fair, and none left with her." "How might that chance?" said I. Then said he, "it is said here that she rose that day very early, and commanded all her sort to go to the fair, and would suffer none to tarry at home." And thereof is much judged; and truly, my lord, I did first learn of Bowes, as I met with him coming towards your lordship's, of his own being that day, and of all the rest of them being, who affirmed that she would not that day suffer one of her own sort to tarry at home; and was so earnest to have them gone to the fair that, with any of her own sort that made reason for tarrying at home, she was very angry; and came to Mrs. Odingsell, the widow, that liveth with Anthony Foster, who refused that day to go to the fair, and was very angry with her also, because she said it was no day for gentlewomen to go in, but said the morrow was much better, and then she would go; whereupon my lady answered and said, "that she might choose and go at her pleasure, but all hers should go;" and was very angry. They asked who should keep her company

if they all went. She said, "Mrs. Owen should keep her company at dinner."

The same tale doth Pinto, who doth dearly love her, confirm. Certainly, my lordship, as little while as I have been here, I have heard divers tales that maketh me to judge her a strange woman of mind. In asking of Pinto what she might think of this matter, either chance or villainy, she said, "By her faith, she doth judge it very chance, and neither done by man nor by herself. For herself," she said, "she was a good, virtuous gentlewoman, and daily would pray upon her knees"; and divers times she saith that she hath heard her pray to God to deliver her from desperation. "Then," said I, "she might have an evil eye in her mind." "No, good Mr. Blount," said Pinto, "do not judge so of my words; if you should so gather I am sorry I said so much."

My lord, it is most strange that this chance should fall upon you, as it passeth the judgment of any man to say how it is; but then the tales I do hear of her make me to think she had a strange mind, as I will tell you at my coming. But to the inquest you would have so very circumspectly chosen by the coroner for the understanding of the truth, your lordship needeth not to doubt of their well choosing. Before my coming, the inquest were chosen, and part of them at the house. If I be able to judge of men, and of their ability, I judge them, and specially some of them, to be as wise and as able men to be chosen on such a matter as any man, being but countrymen, as ever I saw, and as well able to answer for their doing before whomsoever they shall be called, and for their true search without respect of persons. I have done your message unto them, and I have good hope they will conceal no fault, if any be; for as they are wise, so are they, as I hear, part of them very enemies to Anthony Foster. God give them, in their wisdom, indifference, and then be they well chosen men. More advertisement at this time I cannot give your lordship; but as I can learn, so will I advertise, wishing

your lordship to put away sorrow, and rejoice, whatsoever fall out, of your own innocency; by the which, in time, doubt not but that malicious reports shall turn upon their back that can be glad to wish or say against you. And thus I humbly take my leave.

Your lordship's life and loving

T.B.

Your lordship hath done very well in sending for Mr. Appleyard.

Obviously the case looked black against the Queen's favourite with so many evil thoughts at work. The Queen herself deemed it necessary to rusticate him. To what extent he was kept in bondage is not clear from his following letter to Cecil, who appears to have heaped coals of fire on Lord Robert's head at this crisis in his affairs. It is also arguable, of course, that Cecil was convinced of Dudley's innocence, and was merely eager to be on the safe side in the event of his attaining, in due course, the height of his ambition, now that the way lay clear before him:

LORD ROBERT DUDLEY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Haynes' "*Burghley Papers.*"]

September, 1560.

Sir,

I thank you much for your being here, and the great friendship you have shown towards me I shall not forget. I am very loath to wish you here again, but I would be very glad to be with you there. I pray you let me hear from you, what you think best for me to do. If you doubt, I pray you ask the question, for the sooner you can advise me thither, the more I shall thank you. I am sorry so sudden a chance should breed me so great a change, for methinks I am here all this while as it were in a dream, and too far, too far, from the place I am bound to be; where, methinks also, this long idle time cannot excuse me for the duty I have to discharge elsewhere. I pray you help him that sues to

be at liberty out of so great a bondage. Forget me not, though you see me not, and I will remember you, and fail you not; and so wish you well to do. In haste this morning.

I beseech you Sir, forget not to offer up the humble sacrifice you promised me.

Your very assured,

R. DUDLEY.

There is a ring of sincerity about that letter which hardly lends itself to the theory of connivance on Elizabeth's part. Possibly, also, his "bondage" explains why Dudley did not himself proceed to Cumnor Hall, where, plainly, he had so many duties to discharge; but his enemies infer from it that all the time it was the Court alone which he had in mind. The truth will never be known, either regarding this point, or the real cause of Lady Robert's tragic death. None of the witnesses gave any evidence to prove how she came by her mysterious fall downstairs, and after a full inquiry the only verdict possible was one of accidental death, for that, in point of fact, was what the verdict amounted to. Seven years later Amy's half-brother, John Appleyard—mentioned in the correspondence between Dudley and Blount—revived the tragedy by accusing Dudley of shielding his steward, Anthony Foster, whom rumour had charged with the murder. Appleyard had blurted out that "though he did take the Lord Robert to be innocent thereof, yet he thought it an easy matter to find out the offenders." Dudley, however, had always answered him "it was not fit to deal any further in the matter, considering that by order of law it was already found otherwise, and that it was so presented by a jury."[1] Appleyard was sent to the Fleet for his indiscretions, and applied for a copy of the report recording the proceedings at the inquest. Having read these he wrote to the Council that he found therein "not only such proof, testified under the oath of fifteen persons, how his late sister, by misfortune, happened of death, but also such manifest and plain demonstration thereof as hath fully and clearly satisfied him, and therefore commending her soul to God,

[1] Hatfield MSS., Vol. I., pp. 350—1.

he has not further to say of that cause."[1] How far the privations of the Fleet helped him to arrive at this decision it is hazardous to guess, but it is the more important to draw attention to it because Froude, who makes a point of Appleyard's original charges, does not refer to this recantation. Fresh light is thrown on the incident not only in the Hatfield MSS., but also in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's "Report on the Pepys Manuscripts," in which there is a letter from Blount to the Earl of Leicester describing in dramatic detail the alleged attempt by Leicester's enemies to suborn Lady Robert's brother. Appleyard, according to this account, was promised that he should lack neither gold nor silver if he would join them in charging Leicester with the death of his wife, and also with being "the only hinderer of the Queen's marriage." Appleyard declares that he stoutly declined, vowing that he would be Leicester's to death.

As soon as the jury's verdict at the inquest was known, the Queen could afford to restore her favourite to favour, and it was not long before he took up his old position at Court. Neither of them appeared to care much now how the world regarded the affair—though the ugliest reports were spread abroad. "The rumours be so maliciously reported here," wrote Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Cecil from Paris, "touching the marriage of the Lord Robert and the death of his wife, that I know not where to turn me, nor what countenance to make."[2] Annoyed at last beyond endurance the English Ambassador ventured the length of sending his Secretary, Jones, to tell Elizabeth exactly how her reputation was suffering abroad. Jones gives a most interesting account of his interview with the Queen :

MR. R. J. JONES TO SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON.

["*Hardwicke State Papers.*"]

November 30, 1560.

Sir,

With all the diligence I could make I arrived not at the Court here till Monday at night, the 25th of

[1] Hatfield MSS. I., p. 346.
[2] Hardwicke State Papers, Vol. I., p. 121.

November, at what time I delivered my letters to Mr. Secretary, and attending all the next day upon him, I spoke not with the Queen's Majesty till Wednesday at night at Greenwich, whither she came to bed from Eltham, when she dined and hunted all that day with divers of my Lords.

I had declared unto Mr. Secretary, before I spoke with her, the day after my arrival, the discourse of the Lord of St. John's, and your Lordship's opinion, which he willed me to put in writing, as I did. Mr. Secretary showed both the same to the Queen's Majesty, as her Highness in my talk with her told me. I will tell your Lordship the story, and then you may guess at it. There was one occasion, as your Lordship knoweth, in the discourse, to speak of the delivery of the letters to the French King and Queen in favour of the Earl of Arran, when the French Queen said that the Queen's Majesty would marry the Master of her horses. The 26th of November all my Lords of the Council dined at the Scottish Ambassador's lodging, where they were very highly feasted. I repaired thither to show myself to my Lords, where, after I had attended half dinner-time, my Lord Robert rose up, and went to the Court, and in the way sent a gentleman back to will me to repair thither after him, as I did, after I had declared the message to Mr. Secretary. Being come unto him, he asked me whether the French Queen had said that the Queen's Majesty would marry her horse-keeper, and told me he had seen all the discourse of your Lordship's proceedings, together with the intelligence, and that Mr. Secretary told him that the French Queen had said so. I answered that I said no such matter. He laid the matter upon me so strong, as the author thereof being avowed, that I would not deny the French Queen had said that the Queen would marry the Master of her horses.

This was all he said to me, and he willed me that I should in no case let it be known to Mr. Secretary that he had told me thus much, as I have not indeed,

nor mean to do; whereby I judge that Mr. Secretary did declare it only to the Queen, at whose hands my Lord Robert had it. The same night I spake to Mr. Killigrew, and having delivered your Lordship's letter, and told him the intelligence, he said in the end unto me, with, as it were, a sad look: "I think verily that my Lord Robert will run away with the hare, and have the Queen"; to whom I answered nothing. Thus much I thought good to write before I came to speak of my proceeding with the Queen's Majesty.

The 27th, I spoke with her Majesty at Greenwich, at six o'clock at night, and declared unto her the talk of the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice, and the Marquess [of Northampton] and your advice touching the General Council. When I had done with the first point of my tale, "By my troth," said she, "I thought it was such a matter, and he need not have sent you hither, for it had been more meet to have kept you there still." I said that if it had been written in cipher, it must have come to the knowledge of some others. "Of nobody," said she, "but of my Secretary; or else he might have written it in my own cipher."

When I came to touch nearer the quick, "I have heard of this before," quoth she, "and he need not to have sent you withal." I said that the care you had was so great that you could not but advertise her Majesty of such things as might touch her, and that you took this to be no matter to be opened but to herself. When I came to the point that touched his race [Lord Robert's ancestry], which I set forth in as vehement terms as the case required, and that the Duke's [Northumberland's] hatred had been rather to her than to the Queen her sister, she laughed, and forthwith turned herself to the one side and to the other, and set her hand upon her face.

She thereupon told me that the matter [Amy Robsart's death] had been tried in the country, and found to be contrary to that which was reported, saying that he was then in the Court, and none of his

at the attempt at his wife's house; and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour. Quoth she: "My Ambassador knoweth somewhat of my mind in these matters." She heard me very patiently, I think the rather because I made, before I spake unto her Majesty, a long protestation, as methought I had need to do, considering that my Lord Robert knew thereof as much as he did.

. . . The Queen's Majesty looketh not so hearty and well as she did, by a great deal; and surely the matter of my Lord Robert doth much perplex her, and is never like to take place. The talk thereof is somewhat slack, as generally misliked except by the setters forth thereof, who are as your Lordship knoweth. . . . The Queen's Majesty stayeth the creation [of Lord Robert's Earldom]. The bills were made for the purpose at the day appointed. When they were presented, she cut them asunder with a knife. I can by no means learn, and yet I have talked with such as know much, that my Lord Robert's matters will go as was looked for; and yet the favours be great which are shown him at the Queen's hands.

Yours, etc.,

R. J. Jones.

Elizabeth's excuse for changing her uncertain mind in the matter of the peerage which she herself had promised Sir Robert was that the Dudleys had been traitors for three generations. His reproaches almost led her to relent, but she clapped him on the cheeks with a playful "No, no, the bear and the ragged staff are not so soon overthrown"; and Queen and favourite "were as great as ever they were," wrote Sir Henry Neville to Throckmorton.[1] But, he added, when urged to marry him she would "pup with her lips: she would not marry a subject . . . men would come to ask for my lord's grace"; and when it was pointed out that she might make him a king, "that she would in no wise agree to."

[1] Conway MSS.

Throckmorton had other troubles to face in Paris, besides the sneers of his brother diplomatists on the subject of his Sovereign's honour. The French King and Queen still refused to sign the Treaty of Edinburgh, notwithstanding their agreement beforehand to ratify whatever terms their Commissioners were able to make. Mary Stuart herself told Throckmorton what she thought of her subjects at this troubled period, as he reported at length to Queen Elizabeth in his letter of November 17:

"I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the Treaty. My subjects of Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth to them. I am," quoth she, "their Queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful there, yet those few that be there of my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, who I disdain to have come in the name of them all in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your Mistress. I am their Sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duties." [1]

The exact position of affairs is further stated by Throckmorton in the following letter to the English Ambassador in Spain:

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO SIR THOMAS CHAMBERLAIN.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

November 21, 1560.

. . . I wrote unto you of the coming hither of the Lord of St. John of Jerusalem, of Scotland, sent from the nobility and people of Scotland to perform such things in the name of them all as were articulated and

[1] Hardwicke State Papers.

accorded upon in their late Treaty, made between the Commissioners of this side and them: and also thereupon to demand of this King and Queen the ratification of the said agreement, according to his commission and instructions; the copies whereof I send you herewith that you may well understand the same, and proceed the more soundly therein, whensoever you shall have occasion moved you. The said Lord of St. John's hath been with the said Princes, with whom he hath proceeded according to his directions, and hath demanded the ratification. At his first coming he was much made of, and many things promised him; but after a few days not so much. To the demand of the French King and Queen's ratification of the Treaty, answer was made him that for as much as the Scots had in no part performed that which belonged to good subjects, but had assembled themselves upon their own authority, without the consent of the King and Queen their sovereigns: the same Treaty ought not to be regarded, and therefore they would not ratify it. The further reasons why, they would not tell him, but concluded that the King and Queen would send two gentlemen into Scotland to declare their griefs and reasons why they thought not meet to ratify the said accord. And so he standeth upon his dispatch away from hence homeward with this answer.

Among other things these Princes here are not a little grieved that such a solemn legation is sent into England, and that there is but one sent hither, and he in post! There are come into England from the estates of Scotland, the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, and the Lord of Lethington, to visit her Majesty, and to give her thanks; which is the legation that is above spoken of. Another reason that they find why they are not bound to ratify the said Scottish Treaty is, that the same was made with such and of such as were rebels, and bore arms against their sovereigns, and therefore not to be observed; and that his commission and instructions

were subscribed by the same rebels, and of few of their good subjects. And yet the few names of such few good subjects as were set to, were not of their own hands, but counterfeited by other. Among other, these frivolous devices were found out to refuse them their ratification.

About the time of this said Ambassador's negotiation about these matters, I received letters from the Queen's Majesty, with commandment to demand soon of this King and Queen their ratification of the late Treaty made also in Scotland, between her Majesty and the French Commissioners, which had been long delayed, for that the Scots (these men said) had then yet sent nobody to perform things on their behalfs. The Scottish Ambassador therefore having been at the Court, and done his legation, upon whose coming was all our stay, and therefore I hoping to have no further delay therein, I resorted to the King and performed mine instructions and commandment, in renewing the demand of the said ratification of our Treaty. Answer was made me both by the King and Queen, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Duke of Guise, in the same sort as had been made before to the Lord of St. John's. Adding thereto, that forasmuch as our Treaty depended upon the Scots' Treaty, and because the Scots had not performed all things on their part: like as the King was not bound to nor ought to ratify a Treaty made by his subjects without the consent of their sovereign, specially their not observing their duties of obedience towards him promised therein: so was there no cause the King should ratify ours, till the Scots had performed all things on their behalf. And so they have plainly refused to ratify our said Treaty, and spared not to utter, in good terms, that the Scots must be taught to know their duties, and to assemble in their sovereigns' names, and not in their own, as though they would make it a republic. And that rather than the King will suffer these disorders, he will quit all. They stick now much upon a league that is between

the Queen's Majesty and the realm of Scotland. And till that be broken, (which I trust is not meant to be,) I perceive they will be at no better point with us.

As for the leaving the bearing of the Queen's Majesty's arms, which they use yet still in open shows and entries of towns, whereof was spoken at this audience, and told that by the said treaty the King should leave so to do: that was answered that till a treaty be ratified it is no Treaty: and therefore there is no reason why the King and Queen should sooner satisfy than be satisfied. And that the King hath borne the arms of long time, and not without reason and title to do so. And that therefore there is no cause why he should leave his right. These, with divers like purposes sounding all to be defences and cavils not to ratify our Treaty, were used to me at this last negotiation.

Wherein I could not alter their moods for any allegations nor objections that I could use, but rather understand their intents of revenge, than will to quietness. It is strange to see how little princes of honour pass for their promises and authentic obligations. In the French King and Queen's Commission given to Messieurs de Valence and Randan, they promised *bona fide et verbo regio* to perform and ratify all that his deputies should agree upon: as you may see by the same: the copy whereof I also send you herewith.

These Scots that the French King and Queen make exceptions unto, are the very same that the accord and agreement were made with now at Edinburgh. These doings, my Lord Ambassador, are far from the terms that we were in, when our men were before Leith, and our navy strong on the sea. There can be no more evident declaration of meanings and these men's intents (when time and means will serve) to put us in remembrance of things past, unless they should have bid me to have retired myself hence indeed. . . .

It was not long after this that the blow was dealt which, within a few months of her mother's death, was to rob Mary of husband as well. The French Court was now at Orleans holding a high court of justice there in a vain attempt to crush heresy by a policy of extermination. Towards the end of November all these plans were upset by the illness of the King, beginning with a sudden attack of extreme cold, accompanied by fever, "an indisposition," wrote the Venetian Ambassador in France, "to which he is subject, and said to have inherited from his father and grandfather. . . . His Majesty is still suffering from this malady, and though his health continues to improve he is not yet free from fever, this being its fourth day, and he not only does not quit the house or his chamber, but not even his bed, no one being admitted to see him but those most intimate with him. The cause of this accident is supposed to be the sudden change of weather, from extreme mildness like that of spring to bitter and excessive cold, against which the King took no precaution, and he is now made to remain in bed, much to his regret, the Queen Mother willing it so, more from the fear which arises from too much female tenderness than from any need, as if this malady had befallen a private individual, not only would he not have remained in bed, but have gone wherever he pleased and where his presence was needed; but with kings and great princes, who personally are of great consequence, their slightest indisposition is held in account."[1]

With the poor constitution which Francis had to fight against it, however, the illness was more dangerous than Surian imagined. Its course can be followed in detail in the dispatches of the various Ambassadors until its fatal termination on December 5, when "it pleased our Lord God," to quote from the same correspondent, "that the most Christian King should pass to a better life."[2] He left, wrote Throckmorton to Elizabeth, "as heavy and dolorous a wife as of right she had good cause to be, who, by long watching with him during his sickness, and painful diligence about him, and specially by the issue thereof, is not in best tune

[1] Venetian Calendar: Vol. VII., p. 269.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

of her body, but without danger."[1] The French crown descended to her young brother-in-law, Charles Duke of Orleans, "a youth," wrote Surian, "ten years of age, of handsome presence, gracious, and high and noble spirited," whom all the courtiers hurried to congratulate the moment that Francis had breathed his last. "So by degrees," added the Venetian, "everyone will forget the death of the late King except the young Queen, his widow, who being no less noble minded than beautiful and graceful in appearance, the thoughts of widowhood at so early an age, and of the loss of a consort who was so great a King, and who so dearly loved her, and also that she is dispossessed of the Crown of France, with little hope of recovering that of Scotland, which is her sole patrimony and dower, so afflict her that she will not receive any consolation, but, brooding over her disasters with constant tears and passionate and doleful lamentations, she universally inspires great pity."[2]

Throckmorton himself, though he told Elizabeth that she had cause to thank God for His mercies in taking away both the late King of France and his father, "considering their intentions towards her," was moved to admiration of Mary's conduct when she withdrew from the public gaze immediately upon her husband's death, according to the ancient custom which required the widowed Queens of France to put on a loose *robe de chambre* and mourn for forty days in a darkened room:

SIR N. THROCKMORTON TO LORD ROBERT DUDLEY.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

ORLEANS, *December* 31, 1560.

Since the death of the late King things proceed here in such sort as those that were worst affected to the Queen's Majesty, and most desirous to trouble her realm, shall not have so good and ready means to excuse their malice, as they had in the late King's time. And yet, my lord, this I trust shall be no occasion to make her Majesty less considerate, or her counsel less provident, for assuredly the Queen of

[1] Foreign Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. III., p. 421.
[2] Venetian Calendar: Vol. VII., p. 278.

Scotland, her Majesty's cousin, doth carry herself so honourably, advisedly, and discreetly, as I cannot but fear her progress. Methinketh it were to be wished of all wise men and her Majesty's good subjects, that the one of these two Queens of the Isle of Britain were transformed into the shape of a man, to make so happy a marriage as thereby there might be an unity of the whole isle and their appendants. Whosoever is conversant in stories, shall well perceive estates have by no one thing grown so great, and lasted in their greatness, as by marriages, which have united countries that do confine together.

The depth of Mary's grief is sounded in her own pitiful words in her letter to the King of Spain, written either at the end of this year or the beginning of 1561:

MARY STUART TO PHILIP II.

["*Letters of Mary Queen of Scots*": Strickland.]

To the King of Spain.

Monsieur my good brother,—I was unwilling to omit this opportunity of writing to you, to thank you for the polite letters you sent me by Signor Don Antonio, and for the civil things which he and your Ambassador said to me concerning the sorrow you felt for the death of the late King, my lord, assuring you, monsieur my good brother, that you have lost in him the best brother you ever had and that you have comforted by your letters the most afflicted poor woman under heaven; God having bereft me of all that I loved and held dear on earth, and left me no other consolation whatever but when I see those who deplore his fate and my too great misfortune. God will assist me, if he pleases, to bear what comes from him with patience; as I confess that, without his aid, I should find so great a calamity too insupportable for my strength and my little virtue. But, knowing that it is not reasonable you should be annoyed by my letters, which can only be filled with this melancholy subject, I will conclude, after beseech-

[*Photo, Mansell*

MARY STUART IN WIDOW'S DRESS

After the portrait by François Clouet in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

ing you to be a good brother to me in my affliction, and to continue me in your favour, to which I affectionately commend myself; praying God to give you monsieur my good brother, as much happiness as I wish you.

Your very good sister and cousin,

MARY.

With the accession of the boy king, Charles IX., the destinies of France fell into the hands of Catherine de' Medici, the King of Navarre, and England's old ally, the Constable Montmorenci. No love was lost between them and the widowed Mary, daughter as she was of the despotic House of Guise, whose changing fortunes may be traced in the correspondence of the period immediately after Francis' death. The Calvinists were released from the prisons, a General Council was planned at which England, France and Germany should unite to give peace to Europe through the "true religion," and everything, as Throckmorton saw it, promised well for England and the Reformation, if only Elizabeth would seize this golden opportunity and not ruin it by her scandalous relations with Dudley:

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Froude's "History of England."*]

December 31, 1560.

The House of Guise presently does seem here to bear small rule. The countenance and hope they have is of the King of Spain, who for religion and other respects, it is thought will help to stay their credit as much as he may. The principal managing of the affairs doth seem to be chiefly in the hands of the Queen-mother, the King of Navarre, and the Constable; and, as the King of Spain will earnestly travail to suppress religion, so is it most safe for her Majesty and her best policy, to be as diligent to advance it. I do well see you will do the wise and good offices that are necessary to be done, and that may be done. The true religion is very like to take place in France, and so

consequently throughout all Europe where Christianity is received. I did of late address myself to the Admiral, who for his virtue and wisdom is much esteemed. I do find by him that if the Queen's Majesty will put an earnest mind and hand to this matter, it will be here well accepted, and will work very good effect. We talked of many particularities. He thinks that the General Council cannot take place; but that the King must assemble a national council, whereunto, if her Majesty would send some learned men, he does not doubt but all shall be well.

But *if her Majesty do so foully forget herself in her marriage* as the bruit runneth here, never think to bring anything to pass either here or elsewhere. I would you did hear the lamentations, the declamations, and sundry affections, which have course here for that matter. Sir, do not forget yourself as to think you do enough because you do not further the matter. Remember your mistress is young and subject to affections; you are her sworn councillor and in great credit with her. You know there be some of your colleagues which have promoted the matter. There is nobody reputed of judgment and authority that doth to her Majesty disallow it, for such as be so wise as to mislike it be too timorous to show it; so as her Majesty's affection doth rather find wind and sail to set it forward than any advice to quench it. My duty to her, my goodwill to you, doth thus move me to speak plainly . . . Sir, after I had written thus much the ambassador of Spain came to visit me; who did, amongst other matters, earnestly require me to tell him whether the Queen's Majesty was not secretly married to the Lord Robert: for, said he, I assure you this Court is full of it; and, whatever any man doth make your mistress to believe, assure yourself that there never was princess so overseen, if she do not give order in that matter betimes. The bruits of her doings, said he, be very strange in all Courts and countries.

Throckmorton's only reward was a plain hint from Cecil

to mind his own business. "I must advise you," he wrote on January 15, in answer to the above letter, "not to meddle with the matters of this Court, otherwise than ye may be well advised from hence. What her Majesty will determine to do, only God I think knoweth; and in her His will be fulfilled. Writings remain, and coming into adverse hands may be sinisterly interpreted on the other part; servants or messengers may be reporters to whom they list, and therefore I cannot safely give you so plain counsel as I wish; but, in one word I say contend not where victory cannot be had."[1] He added, however, that he realised the exceptional chance now offered of spreading in France that cause which they both professed—"The knowledge of Christ against the anti-Christ of Rome. . . . Now is the time for Calvin and all such noble men as have fetched their knowledge thence, to impugn and suppress the tyranny of the Papists."[2] The perils of the new situation were fully realised by the Spanish Ambassador in London, a fact which probably explains why, after being deceived so often before, he allowed himself to be taken into the matrimonial confidences of Dudley and his apparently infatuated Queen. Lord Robert's move was a counterstroke to the renewed suit of Eric of Sweden, now being pressed so urgently upon the Queen by Cecil and his Protestant friends that the favourite was forced to bring matters to a crisis. What Elizabeth was really aiming at is beyond human comprehension, the most plausible theory being that she was merely procrastinating, knowing full well that time was her most valuable ally, and that she could always change her mind before it was too late:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

January 22, 1561.

Since writing the enclosed letter Henry Sidney, who is the brother-in-law of Lord Robert, came to see me. He is a sensible man and better behaved than any of the courtiers. He began by beating

[1] Froude.
[2] Foreign Calendar: Elizabeth, III., p. 498.

about the bush very widely, but at last came to his brother-in-law's affairs, and said that as the matter was now public property, and I knew how much inclined the Queen was to the marriage, he wondered that I had not suggested to your Majesty this opportunity for gaining over Lord Robert by extending a hand to him now, and he would thereafter serve and obey your Majesty like one of your own vassals, and a great deal more to the same effect. I told him that what I had so far heard of this matter was of such a character that I had hardly ventured to write two lines to your Majesty about it, nor had either the Queen or Lord Robert ever said a word to me that I could write. I said, moreover, that your Majesty had no more need to gain over the Kings of England than they to gain over your Majesty, although, in matters of courtesy to your friends your Majesty always exceeded; but in this affair your Majesty had no means of guessing the thoughts of the Queen, and she had not hitherto taken the advice you had given her, so that there was no opportunity of offering advice again. We discussed this for some time and he entirely agreed with everything I said, being well informed of what had happened in the past, unblinded by prejudice, and a man who sees things in their proper light. He said that if I was satisfied about the death of Robert's wife, he saw no other reason why I should hesitate to write the purport of this conversation to your Majesty, as, after all, although it was a love affair, yet the object of it was marriage, and that there was nothing illicit about it, or such as could not be set right by your Majesty's authority. As regards the death of the wife, he was certain that it was accidental, and he had never been able to learn otherwise, although he had inquired with great care and knew that public opinion held to the contrary. I told him if what he said were true the evil was less, for, if murder had been committed, God would never help nor fail to punish so abominable a crime,

whatever men might do to mend it, but that it would be difficult for Lord Robert to make things appear as he represented them. He answered it was quite true that no one believed it, and that even preachers in the pulpits discoursed on the matter in a way that was prejudicial to the honour and interests of the Queen, which had prevented her from taking steps to remedy the religious disorders of the country, and reduce it to a better condition, in which task Lord Robert would help her. I replied that although your Majesty would be very glad to see religion restored in the country and elsewhere, this was a matter which the Queen ought not to mix up with temporal affairs, but treat it simply as a question between herself and her God, to be diligently undertaken by her whether she was married or single, if she were a Christian at all. He agreed with this also, and although he is not at all well informed on religious questions, he did not fail to admit that the state of the country was very bad, and a way must be found to mend it.

He told me a number of things in this respect which grieved me, and endeavoured to persuade me with solemn oaths that the Queen and Lord Robert were determined to restore religion by means of a general *Concilio*. He then pressed me still further to write to your Majesty and forward the business, so that Lord Robert should receive the boon from your Majesty's hands. I said he knew what happened with his wife in the matter of the Archduke when the Queen had deceived both of us, and that I could not venture to write unless the Queen authorised me to do so, and told me what to say; in which case it would be my duty. He said the Queen would not mention the matter to me unless I began the conversation, but that I might be sure that she desired nothing more than the countenance of your Majesty to conclude the match, and that Lord Robert himself would come to me and beg me to write to your Majesty what I heard from him, and assure you of

his desire to serve you at all times and in all things, to the full extent of his means and abilities, and more especially regarding religion, as is his duty. I told him again there was no need to bring the religious question into these transactions, and that if Lord Robert wanted to open his heart on this point to your Majesty I did not prevent him, but at the same time, although it was just and necessary that he should try to relieve his conscience, yet, if he wished to negotiate with your Majesty, and expected to be believed and held as an honest man, I thought it improper that he should bring in the question of religion at all. He (Sidney) also asked me whether I thought that the Queen should send a person of rank to treat of this matter with your Majesty, and satisfy you as to any points in which your Majesty desired satisfaction. The antecedents of the present ambassador were such that the Queen could not trust him in this business, and particularly as regarded religion, as he is a very great heretic. I said she could do as she thought best, but we would consider the matter, and I would tell Lord Robert my opinion when I had heard what he had to say. I imagine that Sidney himself is desirous of going, so as to take the opportunity of seeing the Countess de Feria, who is his niece. We parted with the understanding that they would both come and see me in a few days.

The above is exactly what passed, and for some days I had suspected that the Queen had some such idea, but as the business is altogether such a bad one, I did not venture to broach the subject to them, and simply remained quiet and gave the answers I have related. I thought best moreover to listen to what they said and to advise your Majesty thereof, so as not to arouse any suspicion in their minds, or perchance to cause them to take some bad course in their business. It is for your Majesty to decide, but I have no doubt that if there is any way to cure the bad spirit of the Queen, both as regards religion and your Majesty's interests, it is by means of this

marriage, at least whilst her desire for it lasts. I am also sure that, if your Majesty's support fail her, your Majesty could easily turn her out of her kingdom by means of her own subjects. I well know the state of this affair and the feeling of the people, and I am certain that if she do not obtain your Majesty's consent she will not dare to publish the match, and it is possible that if she finds herself unable to obtain your Majesty's favour, she may throw herself to the bad and satisfy her desires, by which she is governed to an extent that would be a grievous fault in a person of any condition, much more in a woman of her rank. Things have reached such a pitch that her chamberlain has left her, and Axele of the Privy Chamber (Yaxley?) is in prison for having babbled: indeed there is not a man who has not some tale to tell. Cecil is he who most opposed the business, but he has given way in exchange for the offices held by Treasurer Parry, who died recently of sheer grief. I must not omit to say also that the common opinion, confirmed by certain physicians, is that this woman is unhealthy, and it is believed certain that she will not have children, although there is no lack of people who say she has already had some, but of this I have seen no trace and do not believe it. This being the state of things, perhaps some step may be taken in your Majesty's interests towards declaring as successor of the Queen, after her death, whoever may be most desirable for your Majesty.

Quadra's words must not be taken literally. Elizabeth's position, though insecure, was far from being so desperate as he wanted Philip to believe; and Cecil had not "given way." Having discovered the intrigue with Quadra the Queen's sagacious secretary—always a tower of strength at the critical moment—affected acquiescence in order the more effectually to bring it to naught, though the way thereto, as he afterwards told Throckmorton, "was full of crooks." The Ambassador presently had an opportunity of finding out from Dudley and the Queen themselves how matters appeared to stand with them:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

February 23, 1561.

On the 22nd ultimo I informed your Majesty of Henry Sidney's interview with me in Lord Robert's business, and I have delayed giving them an answer about it because they, on their side, have delayed addressing me further on the matter, the cause of this being, as far as I can learn, that the Queen does not commend her affairs to your Majesty out of any wish or good will of her own, but forced thereto by the persuasion of Lord Robert, who knows the peril in which they stand, and sees clearly that, without the favour of your Majesty, they can hardly ensure themselves against a rising in the country, or suppress one should it occur. I believe the Queen would, nevertheless, have done ere this as Robert urges her if it had not been for the interference of Paget, who, knowing her humour, has advised her to hold her hand until she can make a firm peace and alliance with France, when she could treat with your Majesty more advantageously. This has been the reason for her having changed her mind about sending Peter Mewtas, who was to have gone to France simply with a message of condolence for the death of the King, and she has now decided to send the Earl of Bedford with instructions to ask for the ratification of the peace, and, when this has been obtained, to endeavour to bring about a good understanding and alliance with Vendôme and the heretics of the French Court. I do not know what will come of this, but Guido Cavalcanti, who left Paris on the 15th with a dispatch from the Earl, says that he expects that this time the misunderstandings between the French and the Queen will be ended for ever. These transactions have thus delayed the affair about which Sidney spoke to me at the instance of Lord Robert, and as he (Sidney) believes with the connivance of the Queen. Finally, however, on the 13th, Robert and I met in

the presence of Sidney, and, after he had repeated all that Sidney had told me, and thanked me with a great many compliments and humble words for the answer I had sent, he besought me, in your Majesty's name, to commend the Queen to marry him, and he would promise to render your Majesty all the service his brother-in-law had told me, and very much more. I answered him, that as your Majesty had had no information on this subject until now, you had not had an opportunity of giving me instructions with regard to it; so that I could not address the Queen in your Majesty's name without grave error, but what I could and would do with great pleasure was to act under my previous instructions, and request the Queen to make up her mind to marry and settle the succession, and, if during the conversation any particular person should be discussed, I would speak of him (Lord Robert) as favourably as he could wish, and I would venture to do this for him, knowing the affection and good will your Majesty has always borne him.

He seemed very well satisfied with this, as he must have expected that I should not answer him in this way, and he begged me to speak to the Queen at once. I did so two days afterwards, and told her she already knew how much your Majesty wished to see her married, and her government firmly and tranquilly established, and the various efforts you had made to that end, and that as I now heard that the matter was under discussion, I could not refrain from expressing to her my pleasure thereat. I also said that, whenever she thought necessary to consult your Majesty on the subject, I would use all diligence to carry out what was entrusted to me, and if on this occasion I did not particularise more clearly, it was because I had no special orders from your Majesty, who had not been informed of what was passing. After much circumlocution she said she wished to confess to me and tell me her secret in confession, which was that she was no angel, and did not deny that she had some affection for Lord Robert for the many good qualities

he possessed, but she certainly had never decided to marry him or anyone else, although she daily saw more clearly the necessity for her marriage, and to satisfy the English humour that it was desirable that she should marry an Englishman, and she asked me to tell her what your Majesty would think if she married one of her servitors, as the Duchess of Suffolk[1] and the Duchess of Somerset[2] had done. I told her I could not say what your Majesty would think, as I did not know and had not thought of asking, but that I promised her I would use all diligence to learn as soon as she told me to write to your Majesty about it, and I quite believed that your Majesty would be pleased to hear of her marriage with whomever it might be, as it was so important to her and her kingdom, and I also knew that your Majesty would be happy to hear of the advancement and aggrandizement of Lord Robert, as I understood that your Majesty had great affection for him and held him in high esteem. She seemed as pleased at this as her position allowed her to be. She told me when the time arrived she would speak to me, and promised me to do nothing without the advice and countenance of your Majesty. I did not care to carry the matter further for fear of making a mistake, although she would have been glad to have done so. I had no instruction from your Majesty on the subject, and I did not wish, knowing her character, to refuse to give her this little pleasure and hope, for fear otherwise that she might be impelled to rush into some foolish course, seeing that she is so infatuated, and the heretics of Germany, France, and Scotland are busy here with their insolence and their combina-

[1] This may refer either to Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, daughter of Charles Brandon by Mary Tudor, Dowager Queen of France; who, after the execution of her husband, Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk (1554), married her steward, Adrian Stokes; or to Catharine, Lady Willoughby d'Eresby in her own right, widow of Charles Brandon, who married a gentleman in her household, Robert Bertie.—Hume.

[2] Anne Stanhope, second wife of the Protector Somerset, who was married to Mr. Francis Newdigate.—Hume.

tions, and above all because your Majesty's neighbouring states are so pressed that a froward decision of this woman might prejudice them, although she herself might be ruined by it.

Robert came the next day to thank me, and repeated to me all the details of what I had said to the Queen, who, he told me, was much pleased, and he begged me in the next interview to revert to the subject, as he knew that it was only fear and timidity that prevented the Queen from deciding. He again made me great promises, and assured me that everything should be placed in your Majesty's hands, and, even as regarded religion, if the sending of a representative to the *Concilio* did not suffice, he would go himself. I again repeated to him that I would do everything I could, as indeed I had done, to forward his suit, so far as was justified by your Majesty's Commission to me, but with regard to religion I begged him not to speak to me about it on any account, as that should not be dependent upon other matters, and what he and the Queen did about it did not concern your Majesty, but their own conscience. It was true, I said, that as a prince who is Catholic both in style, and in fact, nothing would give your Majesty greater pleasure than to see the end of these divisions and dissensions in religion. I am thus cautious with these people because if they are playing false, which is quite possible, I do not wish to give them the opportunity of saying that we offered them your Majesty's favour in return for their changing their religion, as they say other similar things to make your Majesty disliked by the heretics here and in Germany. If they are acting straightforwardly, a word from your Majesty in due time will do more than I can now do with many. Your Majesty knows these people and the individuals, and has learnt from my letters and Dr. Turner's statements in Flanders the real state of affairs here. I therefore beg that your Majesty may be pleased to send me orders as to what I should do, and I cannot refrain from saying that

for reasons which are notoriously in your Majesty's interest, affairs here must be mended one way or another, and this can be more easily done now than at any other time, either by your Majesty showing favour to Robert and bringing him to some terms advantageous for your Majesty's objects, and the stability of the country, or else by protecting their opponents, and helping them against these people, who have been such bad neighbours to your Majesty, and who will every day become worse. To let these affairs drift at the mercy of chance neither secures nor punishes, and cannot fail to produce evil disservice to your Majesty. If in saying this I transgress the bounds of my duty I crave your Majesty's pardon for allowing my zeal to make me forget my prudence. I am not alone in my opinion, as this is the universal theme of all the goodly people in the kingdom, and all who wish for your Majesty's advantage.

The Duke of Norfolk is on very bad terms with the Queen. Lord Robert sent word to him the other day that he had heard that the Duke's servants were declaring that he was Robert's enemy, and he wished to know whether this was true, and, if it were not, that the servants should be punished. The Duke sent a gentleman of his household named Nicholas Stranger with his excuses, and the affair has been patched up, but there is no certainty that some trouble may not arise from it. It appears to me that the Queen is angry with him (Norfolk) alone, and is determined to humble him when she can; and indeed she gave me to understand as much herself without naming the Duke. He, on his side, is full of boasts, although I do know how it will turn out when he has to carry them into effect.

The cautious Philip was ready enough to help Dudley on the lines suggested, but, as he explained in his reply to Quadra, it was advisable first to let them put their proposals in writing, and also give some concrete proof of their sincerity in the matter of religion :

PHILIP II. TO BISHOP QUADRA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

TOLEDO, *March* 17, 1561.

. . . As I am so deeply concerned and wish so earnestly to find a remedy for the religious evils of the country, I was glad to read the account you sent of what had passed between Sidney and you about Lord Robert, and the benefits which might arise to religion if we were to favour and protect him in his suit with the Queen, and although, so far as we can see, the discussion did not rest upon much foundation, and we do not know what had passed between Lord Robert and you, yet, as our principal aim is directed to the service of our Lord, the maintenance of religion and the settlement and pacification of the country, and as we see that Sidney's proposals tend to this end, and further bearing in mind that God, if He so wills, can extract good from great evils, we have decided that the negotiation suggested by Sidney should be listened to. You will not only listen to him and willingly enter into the subject when he speaks of it, but try also to lead the matter on to a more solid basis, as for instance, by bringing the Queen and Lord Robert into it, and getting in writing and signed by her whatever the Queen may wish to be proposed to you. This is necessary, as her words are so little to be depended upon, and you know by the experience you have had of her that this is always the course she pursues when she has no intention of fulfilling what she says, and only wishes to use our authority for her own designs and intentions. You will therefore be very alert and cautious in this negotiation, warned by what has been the result of previous negotiations.

When the discussion is in progress it will be well to make them understand that, in order to gain our good will and obtain our aid in what they so much desire, it will be necessary that the Queen should give some signs of what she wants and aims at. Since she

has been Queen she has never yet done anything according to our advice, or for our satisfaction towards the amending of religion, or the pacification of her kingdom, and what she might now do is to liberate the prelates and other Catholics she has imprisoned, agree to send her Ambassadors and Catholic bishops to the *Concilio*, and submit herself unconditionally to its decisions. Besides this she should, pending the resolutions of the *Concilio*, allow Catholics to live as they please without coercion or violence, and in view of such action we should soon see whether she was sincere in this business or only sought her private ends. . . . There is only to add that if on opening the discussion they desire to know whether you are treating with our knowledge and consent, you must judge if the affair looks solid and promising; and, in such case, or if you think necessary in order that they may make the preparations required to carry their intentions into effect, you may opportunely tell them that you give ear to them with our full authority and good will. This is the course we think should be followed in the negotiations, and we leave the manner and form of carrying out our wishes to your prudence and zeal, which we are sure will enable you to fulfil the task fittingly. In the conversations you may have with Sidney and Lord Robert you had better give them to understand that I have the same good will towards the latter as I ever had, and take every opportunity you may see to express affection and attachment to him, so as to forward the affair by this means. . . .

His Holiness writes us that he has appointed the Abbé Martinengo to carry the bull of the *Concilio* to the Queen, and has given him orders, when he arrives in Flanders, to be governed by the directions of the Bishop of Arras. I have written to the latter not to let him pass until he sees what progress is being made with Sidney's negotiations, because if these look promising preparations could duly be made for giving it (the bull) a better reception, and with hope of more

fruitful result. You will therefore keep the Bishop well advised of the progress of the negotiations, and he can, in sight thereof, write to us what steps are to be taken from here, and the orders to be given respecting the entry into England of the said Nuncio and the fulfilment of his embassy. Advise me also of everything that happens in this matter, as we await your reply with the utmost solicitude.

Elizabeth, however, had no intention either of receiving Martinengo, the Papal envoy, or of being represented at the *Concilio*—the revived Council of Trent. One of her objects in sending the Protestant Earl of Bedford to France, as mentioned by Quadra in his letter of February 23, was to persuade Catherine de' Medici to refuse her sanction to the Council—though in this he was unsuccessful—the while they were both participating in the meeting of Protestant princes at Nuremburg. Cecil's subtle game may be detected between the lines of Quadra's next letter to his King:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *March* 25, 1561.

. . . Robert is very aggrieved and dissatisfied that the Queen should defer placing matters in your Majesty's hands, and sending a person to Spain to negotiate as he told me at first, and as he has fallen ill with annoyance the Queen resolved to please him by taking the following step. She sent Cecil to me to say that it would be a great service to the Queen and a help to this business if your Majesty, as soon as possible, would write her a letter saying that in the interests of the tranquillity and welfare of this country (which your Majesty desires as much as those of your own kingdom) your Majesty advises her not to delay her marriage any longer, and if she could not accept any of the foreign Princes who are her suitors, by reason of her disinclination to marry a person whom she does not know, then your Majesty thinks she ought to marry a gentleman of her own

country, to the satisfaction, and on the selection, of her nobles, and your Majesty advises that this should be done at once, and promises to be a friend to whomever may be chosen for a husband. Cecil told me this not as from the Queen but as from himself, in the presence of Sidney, who had come to see me just before, I believe in order that I might tell your Majesty what the Queen sent to say to me. He (Cecil) said also that this was very important in your Majesty's interests and in the interests of the friendship between the two houses, because if these negotiations fell through the Queen might marry a prince less friendly to your Majesty than Robert would be. I answered that all this was very well, but I desired to know whether it was the Queen who sent word for me to write this, or whether it was a discourse of his own; because this point was most important if your Majesty was to be persuaded to write, and if it were not the Queen's own wish, I did not know whether your Majesty would be disposed to give her any more advice, bearing in mind the small avail of all previous counsel to her. In reply he begged me, seeing that the Queen was a modest maiden and not inclined to marry, not to press her to propose these means and expedients herself, which would make her look like a woman who sought to carry out her desires, and went praying people to help her, but he urged me to get your Majesty to write. I did not think fit to answer him further, so as not to seem unwilling to do what he asked me. I turned the conversation to Sidney, and asked him whether Lord Robert would be pleased if your Majesty did this service for him. Sidney answered seriously that he would be grateful for all your Majesty might be pleased to do for him, and he begged me on his behalf to take up his cause warmly.

Conversing further on the matter Cecil declared to me the object of this expedient. He said that the Queen was resolved to do nothing in the business

without the consent and goodwill of her people, who have the right of controlling the public actions of their sovereigns, and she did not wish to prejudice this right by marrying without their consent. She desired your Majesty's letter to give her an opportunity for calling together some members of the three estates of the realm, and placing before them your Majesty's communication with the reason for coming to a decision, and so with the accord of these deputies to arrange the marriage with Robert. The deputies would be three bishops, six peers, and ten or twelve deputies of cities, all of them confidants of Robert and informed of the Queen's wish. This is now being arranged, and they have already ordered to be called together in some provinces the people who usually have the management of public affairs in order to form this deputation. The sum of it all is that Cecil and these heretics wish to keep the Queen bound and subject to their will, and forced to maintain their heresies, and although she sees that the heretics treat her very badly, especially the preachers, and that Robert is more disliked by them than by the Catholics, she dare not go against Cecil's advice because she thinks that both sides would then rise up against her. Robert is very displeased at all this, and has used great efforts (persuaded thereto by Sidney) to cause the Queen to make a stand, and free herself from the tyranny of these people, and throw herself entirely on your Majesty's favour. I do not think, however, that he has been able to prevail upon her, and as he is faint-hearted, and his favour is founded on vanity, he dare not break with the Queen, as I understand he has been advised to do by the Earl of Pembroke, who is of the same opinion as Sidney, and says that Robert should ask her either to marry him before Easter, (which she might well do with your Majesty's favour) or give him leave to go to the wars in your Majesty's service. But he is carrying on the negotiations as the Queen wishes, although he thinks she is mistaken,

and in the meanwhile he is waiting to see what can be done by means of your Majesty's reply, whilst Cecil is arranging this deputation as he pleases. I would beg your Majesty to instruct me how I should act if no reply has been sent to my last two letters.

Dudley's hopes revived when Quadra told him a few days later of Philip's friendly message. "He was excessively overjoyed and could not cease saying how much he desired to serve your Majesty. It appears as if he had made up his mind to be a worthy man and gain respect, and when I told him your Majesty was glad to hear of his intention to try to restore religion in the country, he answered me at once, without stopping to think, that it was true he had that intention, as also had the Queen, who desired nothing else but to see herself free from these dissensions and her country tranquil."[1] Quadra's hopes were rudely shattered, however, when, a little later, Elizabeth flatly refused to receive the Papal Nuncio. His annoyance shows that he realised only too well how completely Cecil and his friends, if not Elizabeth herself, had hoodwinked him over "these conversations."

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

June 30, 1561.

On the 3rd instant I gave your Majesty an account of affairs here since the decision of the Queen about the visit of the Nuncio, and the news now is that Waldegrave and his wife and Wharton[2] and some more of the Catholics, recently arrested, have been sentenced to the penalty provided by the statute for hearing mass. Although the sentence was pronounced at Westminster with all the solemnity usual in cases of treason, nothing was found against them but the hearing of mass. They also degraded five or six clergymen as wizards and necromancers, in whose possession were found calculations of nativity of the

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 195.

[2] Sir Edward Waldegrave and Sir Thomas Wharton, two members of Queen Mary's Privy Council.

Queen and Lord Robert, and I know not what other curiosities of the sort, but all of small importance except in the hands of those who were glad to jeer at them.

On the day of St. John the Queen ordered me to be invited to a feast given by Lord Robert, and, touching these sentences, I asked her Majesty whether her councillors and secretaries were not nearly tired of mocking Catholics, and if they had done any great service to the State in the efforts they had made to discover plots. She replied that the Secretary was certainly not to blame, and the others might say as they pleased, but it could not be denied that your Majesty had done good to all and harm to none in the country, and much more to the same effect. I still showed that I was offended and dissatisfied at her Council in general, and advised her to take care what she did, and not to surrender herself to men so fanatical as these, and especially in what concerned religion, directly or indirectly, because if she did she would never succeed in pacifying her Kingdom. I said much to the same effect which she listened to with her usual patience, and with many thanks.

In the afternoon we went on board a vessel from which we were to see the rejoicings, and she, Robert, and I being alone on the gallery, they began joking, which she likes to do much better than talking about business. They went so far with their jokes that Lord Robert told her, that, if she liked, I could be the minister to perform the act of marriage, and she, nothing loath to hear it, said she was not sure whether I knew enough English. I let them jest for a time, but at last spoke to them in earnest, and told them that if they listened to me they could extricate themselves from the tyranny of the councillors who had taken possession of the Queen and her affairs, and could restore to the country the peace and unity it so much needed by re-instating religion. If they did this they could effect the marriage they spoke of, and I should be glad, in such case, to be the minister to

perform it, and they might punish severely those who did not like it, as they could do anything with your Majesty on their side. As things were now I did not think the Queen would be able to marry except when and whom Cecil and his friends might please. I enlarged on this point somewhat because I see that, unless Robert and the Queen are estranged from this gang of heretics that surround them, they will continue as heretofore ; and if God ordain that they should fall out with them I should consider it an easy thing to do everything else we desire. I think of persevering in this course because, if I keep away from the Queen and discontinue these conversations, it will only leave a clear field to the heretics and play their game ; whilst, by keeping in with her, I not only maintain her friendliness to your Majesty, but have still some hope of persuading her, especially if these heretics do anything to offend her. I know they are furious at my having the Queen's ear and keeping friendly with Lord Robert, and in case your Majesty should think that this course might in some way prejudice the Catholics, I beg your Majesty to be reassured in that respect, and to believe that if I have any understanding at all I am employing it in keeping this business well in hand, as may be seen any day by the affection these Catholics have for your Majesty, whom they greatly desire. Only three days ago the persons of whom your Majesty has heard on other occasions sent to inform me that their party was never so strong as now, and that of the Queen never so unpopular and detested.

Elizabeth was now in the full bloom of her womanhood, and made the most of it. One of the Imperial agents, Coloredo by name, returned to Vienna from England about this period with her portrait for the Archduke Charles, and spoke with enthusiasm of her "exceeding beauty." He also declared "that she lives a life of magnificence and festivity such as can hardly be imagined, and occupies a great portion of her time with balls, banquets, hunting, and similar amuse-

ments with the utmost possible display; but nevertheless she insists upon far greater respect being shown to her than was exacted by the late Queen Mary; and although she has summoned Parliament, she has nevertheless ordered that her commands are to be executed notwithstanding that these may be contrary to the will of Parliament itself."[1]

It may not be inappropriate to close this chapter with a Venetian's picture of England itself at the same period. This is included in the report presented to "the most August Signory," by Michiel Surian:

England is the most wealthy and powerful of all the kingdoms of the north, and although the Crown levies small import duties (usually about 100,000 ducats), it has nevertheless sufficient supplies under ordinary circumstances for the public service both in time of peace and also in time of war, because in time of war subsidies, great and small, are levied upon owners of property according to the assessment of individuals appointed for that purpose; and the sums fixed are paid within two months without any complaint or the slightest tumult, notwithstanding, as has happened frequently, that the amount has reached one million and a half of gold. The power of the country consists in its number of warlike men, and in the strength of its fleet, in which respect this kingdom is superior to all its neighbours, and also in the advantage of its natural position, which is easy to defend and difficult to attack. But from the disposition of the people, and from the incapacity of the Council, the kingdom has lately suffered more detriment than advantage from the above forces, for Calais has been lost because no steps were taken in time to provide against the danger, and the country itself is weakened by many intestine discords.

The English are universally partial to novelty, hostile to foreigners, and not very friendly amongst themselves; they attempt to do everything that comes into their heads, just as if all that the imagination

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 659.

suggests could be easily executed; hence a greater number of insurrections have broken out in this country than in all the rest of the world, the most recent of these being that raised by Thomas Stafford, nephew of the Cardinal [Pole], who endeavoured to obtain the kingdom with only sixty men brought by him from France, and he paid the penalty of his temerity. From the same cause has arisen the change of faith, which is the greatest alteration that could possibly arise in a nation, because besides the offence which is thus committed against our Lord God, a revolution in customs, laws, obedience, and, lastly, in the very State itself, necessarily follows, as has happened in Asia, Africa, Germany, and in a great part of Europe.

Hence also have resulted many depositions of great men and promotions of the unworthy, many imprisonments, exiles, and deaths. It is also a fact, incredible though true, namely, that during the last twenty years three Princes of the blood, four Dukes, forty Earls, and more than three thousand other persons have died by violent death. It may therefore be easily imagined that no foreigner could rule this kind of people, when even their own countrymen are not safe, yet nevertheless the King [Philip] used every endeavour and every means suggested by his father and his friends to acquire authority over them. To obtain their favour he showed himself most gracious towards all; he trusted his own life in their hands; he professed openly to require nothing from them; he spent money freely amongst all classes; he reduced the Council of the Queen from the old number of twenty-five to six confidential persons only; and he did everything he possibly could without resorting to force. . . . Queen Elizabeth, who has succeeded to the throne, owing to her courage and to her great power of mind, being similar to that of the King her father, declines to rely upon anyone save herself, although she is most gracious to all.

CHAPTER V

MARY STUART'S HOME-COMING

Mary Stuart and her Matrimonial Chances—Her Scottish Subjects Ready to Restore their Allegiance and Support her Claim to the English Succession—Mary Granted Freedom of Worship and Arranges to Return—Lethington's Assurance of Fidelity—Mary Still Declines to Ratify the Treaty—Elizabeth's Warning to the Scottish Estates—She Declines Mary a Safe Conduct through England—Her Refusal to Recognise Mary's Claim—Knox Warns Elizabeth Against his own Sovereign—Lady Catherine Grey's Disgrace—Mary Stuart's Return—Final Interviews with Throckmorton—Farewell to France—Her Reception in Scotland—Knox Makes her Weep—Rival Queens in the Marriage Market—A Famous Letter from Knox—Enter Darnley—Lady Lennox under Arrest—Secret Proposal of Marriage to Mary—Cecil's Lament—Frank Correspondence Between Mary and Elizabeth—Scandalous Tales of Scottish Bishops—Ascham's Portrait of Elizabeth.

WHILE Elizabeth was playing her own game with love and diplomacy in England, Mary Stuart was recovering her health and spirits at Rheims and elsewhere under the tender care of her kinsfolk of the House of Guise. She had now joined Elizabeth among the world's richest prizes in the matrimonial market, and the fact that Mary's list of suitors rivalled hers in length and variety did not serve to improve their prospects of reconciliation. There was some talk of marrying Mary to her young brother-in-law, Charles IX., as Catherine of Arragon had married Henry VIII. after the death of his elder brother, Prince Arthur, but this plan would have involved the return to power of the Guises, which Catherine de' Medici wished to avoid at all costs. The alliance most threatening to English interests was that suggested with Don Carlos, the "vicious young lunatic," as Martin Hume calls him, who was Philip's only son by his first wife, and now some fifteen years old. This match would have thrown all the weight of Spanish influence in favour of Mary Stuart's claim to the English throne. As it happened, Catherine de' Medici wanted Don Carlos for her

own daughter, Margaret; so Mary's choice, apparently, lay between the Earl of Arran, who was most fancied by Catherine as a likely puppet in the hands of France, and a dazzling assortment of foreign Princes, crowned and otherwise.

Her sorrows softened the hearts of her Scottish subjects, at a time when their *amour propre* was still smarting from Elizabeth's refusal of their formal offer of Arran as a means of joining the two kingdoms in the holy bonds of matrimony. After all, Mary Stuart was their lawful Queen, and now that there was little chance of French interference, the bulk of them were prepared to restore their allegiance, and—since Elizabeth had declined to marry a Scot—to support the Stuart claim to the English succession. "We all begin to enter into some devotion towards our Sovereign Lady," wrote Lethington to Cecil, scenting danger in the sense of security which had "lulled us asleep" since the death of Francis II. "I fear," he added, "many simple men shall be carried away with vain hope, and brought abed with fair words."[1]

Protestants and Catholics alike ardently sought the return of their widowed Queen, and sent rival deputations to France to probe her mind and win her consent. The Catholics, hoping for the immediate restoration of their faith, commissioned John Lesley, the future historian and Bishop of Ross, to persuade her to land at Aberdeen, where they promised to meet her with 20,000 men, and march on Edinburgh. The Protestants dispatched her half-brother, Lord James Stuart, bidding her return in the name of the Scottish Parliament, and promising her both an honourable reception and loyalty if she would consent to rule under the spiritual guidance of the reformed religion. In the existing state of affairs in France, with the Guises fallen from power, and the new rulers flirting with the Reformation, it needed a heroine with a more fanatical readiness for a martyr's crown than ever Mary Stuart possessed to champion the Catholic cause in Scotland at that moment, supported as she would be only by her own defeated subjects. Lesley's offer, therefore, was gratefully declined. It must have been a bitter humiliation

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 510.

to Mary to realise, as her astute uncles doubtless pointed out, that her only hope now lay among subjects who had allied themselves to her natural enemy, and openly flouted her faith. Having, therefore, received an assurance that the Congregation would grant her personal freedom of worship, she declared her willingness to return. Whether Lord James was the traitor that some writers would have us believe, not only in telling Throckmorton, on his way home, the details of the interview, but also, it is alleged, in advising Elizabeth to capture Mary on her voyage to Scotland, is a debatable point which is discussed by Dr. Hay Fleming at length, if not conclusively, in his "Mary Queen of Scots." The alleged treachery with Elizabeth, he points out, is "inconsistent with Lesley's statement that Lord James hastened home to prepare for her early and honourable reception, and is still more inconsistent with the remarkable letter concerning the English succession, addressed by the maligned Commendator of St. Andrews to Elizabeth on August 6." This letter will be found in its chronological order, beginning on p. 189. A much longer letter addressed to Mary herself on June 10 (printed in Philippson's "Marie Stuart," Vol. III., pp. 435—43) proves that he made no attempt to conceal these much debated interviews with the English ambassador of the English Queen.

Meantime Mary, having been advised by her uncles to use Lethington "most tenderly in all her affairs," though he had deserted her mother to support the rebels, as well as "to repose most upon them of the reformed religion,"[1] sent him the following reply to his assurance of fidelity, and excuses for past dealings with Cecil and Elizabeth. The exact terms of his letter offering service can only be judged by Mary's answer:

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

PARIS, *June* 30, 1561.

Lethington—I have your letter of the 10th of this month. If you employ yourself in my service, and show the good will whereof you assure me, you need

[1] "Memoirs of Sir James Melville," pp. 88—9.

not fear calumniators or talebearers, for such have no part with me. I look to results before believing all that is told me. For the scruple that may arise from your acquaintance in England, it will cease with your intelligence there, and is easy to remedy if you wish. Forasmuch as you have been the principal instrument and negotiator of all practices that my nobles have had there, if you wish (that besides forgetting all past offences, as I have written before) that I should in good earnest trust and employ you, cause the hostages now in that country to be withdrawn, and busy yourself in undoing what you have brought about therein, so that I may be assured of your good affection. You have the knowledge and skill to do more than that, for nothing passes among my nobility without your knowledge and advice. I will not conceal from you that if anything goes wrong after I trust you, you are he whom I shall blame first.

I wish to live henceforth in amity and good neighbourhood with the Queen of England, and am on the point of leaving for my realm, where I hope to be at the time I announced by the Prior of St. Andrews. On arriving, I shall need some money for my household and other expenses. There must be a good year's profit from my mint and also other casualties. You will pleasure me by having it ready from some quarter or another, and for all that give me notice. I saw by your letters you had published and executed those I lately sent you as to the alienation of church lands. For my further intentions, being on my departure, I remit them to my arrival, when I see and hear from you how things have passed both before and since the troubles.

The news of Mary's approaching return without ratifying the Treaty of Edinburgh was gall and wormwood to Elizabeth, whose ambassadors had again tried in vain to get her signature shortly before the arrival of the Scottish delegates. "But she made answer," wrote Michiel Surian, "that during her Consort's life everything was governed by his Council,

and now that he was dead, before treating anything, she must make a Council of those of her Kingdom, with which she must rule."[1] Elizabeth accordingly warned the Scottish Estates that they would have cause to repent it if they supported her in her "breach of solemn promise." The original draft of this letter is in Cecil's hand much corrected:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE ESTATES OF SCOTLAND.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

July 1, 1561.

We doubt not but as our meaning is and hath been always since our reign, in the sight of Almighty God, straight and direct towards the advancement of His honour and truth in religion, and thus for peace and concord betwixt these two realms, so also our outward acts have declared the same to the world and you our neighbours, who have tasted and proved our good will more we think than any of your ancestors, yea more than many of yourselves could have hoped for! Though at the beginning of your troubles, the jealousy and malice of divers both there and abroad, suspected us of meaning to surprise the realm and deprive your Queen of her crown, or to make the monarchy a commonwealth, yet the end showed our meaning was to establish our cousin and sister in her state, then in the hands of strangers; and though no words could satisfy the malicious, yet our deeds declare nothing was sought but restitution to the ancient liberty, as the solemn treaty at Edinburgh last year by our and your Queen's commissioners testifies. Yet your Sovereign, either not knowing her own felicity, or seduced by perverse counsel, forbears, though sundry times required by us, to ratify the same, and makes dilatory answers, and would have us delay till she returns to her country. We must plainly let you all understand that this manner of answer without fruit, cannot long content us. Our meaning to your sovereign has been good, we stayed her realm from danger, and have kept peace hitherto, as we promised. We think it

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 301.

strange she has no better advice, and require you all the Estates of the realm, to consider the matter deeply, and make answer whereto we may trust. If you support her breach of solemn promise, we shall accept your answer, and doubt not but, by the grace of God, you shall repent it. If you will have it kept, we promise you the like, and all shall go well with your Queen, yourselves and posterities. Advertise us of your mind, specially if it is for peace, and if you forbear any long time to advertise us ye shall give to us some occasion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow than good.

Elizabeth was still pestered by the matrimonial advances of the King of Sweden, who did not mind much, apparently, whether he married the English or the Scottish Queen. Cecil's letter on the subject also throws a certain amount of light on Lord James's subsequent proposals to Elizabeth on behalf of Mary's pretensions to the English throne:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON.

["*Hardwicke State Papers.*"]

LONDON, *July* 14, 1561.

. . . The Queen's Majesty hath plainly written to this King, that considering she is not as yet disposed to marriage, she doubteth whether in coming, and not obtaining his suit, he should change his love into offence; and therefore I think, upon the receipt of these lines he will stop. I am most sorry of all that her Majesty is not disposed seriously to marriage, for I see likelihood of great evil both to this State, and to the most of the good particular persons, if she shall not shortly marry. There hath been a matter secretly thought of, which I dare communicate to you, although I mean never to be an author thereof; and that is, if an accord might be made betwixt our Mistress and the Scottish Queen, that this should, by Parliament in Scotland, etc., surrender unto the Queen's Majesty all matter of claim, and to the heirs

of her body; and in consideration thereof, the Scottish Queen's interest should be acknowledged in default of heirs of the body of the Queen's Majesty. Well, God send our Mistress a husband, and in time a son, that we may hope our posterity shall have a masculine succession. This matter is too big for weak folks, and too deep for simple. The Queen's Majesty knoweth of it, and so I will end.

I have advertised the Lords of Scotland of the Queen's answer to D'Oyssel. De Seurre said yesterday, privately, that he looked for such an answer as this was. Yesternight, I thank the Queen's Majesty, she took a supper at my rude new cottage, wherein I thought my costs well bestowed for her gracious acceptance of all my offers. Sir Thomas Challoner is putting himself in order to go into Spain to take Mr. Chamberlain's place, and now it resteth to compass your coming home. I am had here in continual jealousy, and you in like mistrust.

Lord James did not realise on what dangerous ground he was treading when he attempted to compromise matters with Elizabeth, after she had declined to promise Mary a safe conduct through England on her journey north until she had signed the treaty. Elizabeth had made herself perfectly clear on this much-discussed point. To D'Oyssel she wrote on July 15 that, "finding no answer from the Queen of Scotland but delay, she requires the ratification of their late treaty, which if performed, she will gratify any reasonable request for passing through her realm, and, if it likes the said Scottish Queen, will give order for a friendly meeting between them for corroboration of their amity"[1]:

LORD JAMES STUART TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

EDINBURGH, *August* 6, 1561.

My earnest desire to see the intelligence betwixt these two realms long endure, moves me deeply to consider how, on one part, it may be increased, on

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I.

the other, what are the chief impediments to be avoided. For the increase, I doubt not but conformity of religion, neighbourhood sustained by mutual good offices, and the very necessity of the case, will daily promote it. Indeed, seeing for the subjects' part, the old enmity of these two nations is by God's providence miraculously converted to reciprocal good will, and both desire a friendly conjunction: I see not what could impede it, if the heads could so heartily be joined in love as be the members, I mean your Majesty and the Queen my sovereign lady—betwixt whom I find many natural causes, and straight bonds of amity, and but one root from which any variance can grow. You be tender cousins, both Queens in the flower of your ages, much resembling other in most excellent and goodly qualities, on whom God hath bestowed most liberally the gifts of nature and fortune. Your sex will not permit you to advance your glory by war and bloodshed, but in that of a peaceable reign. Neither of you is ignorant from what root the contrary affection proceeds; whereon before I touch, I shall crave pardon of my boldness, which proceeds only from the good will of him who of all the subjects in both realms, hath, as appeareth to me, most interest to wish that your two Majesties were joined in most tender familiarity.

I wish to God the Queen my sovereign lady had never by any advice taken in head to pretend interest or acclaim any title to your Majesty's realm, for then I am fully persuaded you would have been and continued as dear friends as you be tender cousins—but now since on her part something hath been thought of it, and first motioned when the two realms were in war together (your Majesty knoweth it) I fear that unless the root may be removed, it shall ever breed unkindness betwixt you. Your Majesty cannot yield, and she may on the other part think of it hard, being so nigh of the blood of England, to be made a stranger from it! If any mid way could be picked out to remove this difference to both your contentments,

then it is like we could have a perpetual quietness. I have long thought of it, and never durst communicate it to the Queen my sovereign, nor many of my countrymen; nor yet will hereafter follow it further than shall seem good to your Majesty. The matter is higher than my capacity is able to compass, yet upon my simple overture your Highness can lay a more large foundation. What, if your Majesty's title did remain untouched, as well for yourself as the issue of your body? Inconvenient were it to provide that to the Queen my sovereign her own place were reserved in the succession of the Crown of England? Which your Majesty will pardon me, if I take to be next by the law of all nations, as she that is next in lawful descent of the right line of King Henry the Seventh your grandfather—and in the meantime this isle to be united in perpetual friendship. The succession of realms comes by God's appointment at His good pleasure, and no provision of man can alter what He has determined, but it must needs come to pass! Yet it appears that without injury to any party, this accord might bring us great quietness. Everything must have some beginning, and if I may receive answer from your Majesty that you can allow it, I will travail to bring my sovereign to some conformity; if you mislike it, I will no farther meddle therewith. . . . Protesting in the presence of God that this my overture proceedeth of no other intent, nor tendeth to any other end, than to the continuance of the intelligence begun, which I wish rather to do (?) than see in any point violated.

Elizabeth's refusal is understandable when read in the light of Cecil's "Minutes for the Queen's Person, March 1561" printed in the Burghley Papers, in which all manner of rules for guarding against poison are laid down for her Majesty's safety. She had reason to suspect that her enemies were only waiting for the appointment of her successor—especially of one who was the chief hope of the Catholics of both England and Scotland—to find some ready means of

removing her from their path. Therein, probably, lay the real secret of the long feud which could only end with the death of one or other of the rival Queens.

Knox, still anxious to win his way into Elizabeth's good graces, did not hesitate to accuse his own sovereign of sinister designs against her, though obviously his real object in writing the following letter was to mitigate the offence of his notorious "First Blast of the Trumpet":

JOHN KNOX TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

EDINBURGH, *August* 6, 1561.

Grace from God the Father through our Lord Jesus, with perpetual increase of His Holy Spirit. Please your Majesty, it is here certainly spoken that the Queen of Scotland travaileth earnestly to have a treatise entitled "The First Blast of the Trumpet," confuted by the censure of the learned in divers realms; and further that she laboureth to inflame the hearts of princes against the writer. And because it may appear that your Majesty hath interest: that she mindeth to travail with your Grace's council and learned men, for judgment against such a common enemy to women, and to their regiment [rule]. It were but foolishness in me to prescribe to your Majesty what is to be done in anything—especially in what men think touches myself—but of one thing I think myself assured, and therefore I dare not conceal it,—to wit, that neither doth our sovereign so greatly fear her own estate by reason of that book, nor yet doth she so unfeignedly favour the tranquillity of your Majesty's reign and realm, that she would take so great and earnest pains unless her crafty council, in so doing, shot at a farther mark. Two years ago I wrote unto your Majesty my full declaration touching that work; experience since hath shown that I am not desirous of innovations, so that Christ Jesus be not in His members openly trodden under the feet of the ungodly. With further purgation I will not trouble your Majesty for the present.

Beseeching the Eternal so to assist your Highness in all affairs that in His sight ye may be found acceptable, your regiment profitable to your commonwealth, and your facts to be such that justly they may be praised of all godly, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus, to whose mighty protection I unfeignedly commit your Majesty.

Knox was neither shy of warning a rival Queen against his own Sovereign, nor of giving advice on occasion which, to say the least of it, was questionable, coming from the lips of one who, like Cæsar's wife, should have been above suspicion. When English aid was so sorely needed by the Lords of the Congregation before Leith, and Elizabeth had not definitely thrown in her lot with the rebels, he had made the following crafty suggestion to Croft: "The sending of a thousand or more men to us can break no league or peace contracted between you and France, for it is free for your subjects to serve in war any prince or nation for their wages, and if you fear that such excuses shall not prevail, you may declare them rebels to your realm when you shall be assured that they are in our company."[1]

In the midst of the fears occasioned by Mary's return came the discovery of what Elizabeth believed to be another plot against her throne through the person of Lady Catherine Grey, whom we have already seen as a not unwilling tool in the hands of the Spanish Ambassadors. Apart from her Catholic leanings Catherine Grey was always distrusted by Elizabeth as the next heir to the crown after herself should she die childless, according to the terms of Henry the Eighth's will. Distrust turned to hatred when Catherine confessed, as a result of becoming *enceinte*, that she had secretly married the Earl of Hertford, the eldest son of the Protector Somerset. It was no longer treason for anyone of royal blood to marry without the Sovereign's consent, but, as will be seen in Quadra's next letter, there was reason to suspect that the affair was not unconnected with some deep political design, and Lady Catherine was at once committed to the Tower. Hertford soon followed her there,

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 256.

summoned post-haste from Paris; the marriage was declared invalid, and the child to be born illegitimate. Cecil's letter, containing the first wind of this unhappy romance, is also important for its refutation of the charge made against Elizabeth of having sent a fleet to intercept Mary Stuart, with the veiled hope, as Froude suggests, that the English admiral—whoever he might be—would unwittingly send her ship with its freight to the bottom of the North Sea. Mary was now preparing for the voyage which she had determined to make to Scotland direct, since Elizabeth would not permit her to pass through England without first signing the obnoxious Treaty:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

[Wright's "*Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

August 12, 1561.

The 10th of this at Ipswich, was a great mishap discovered. The Lady Catherine is certainly known to be big with child, as she saith, by the Earl of Hertford, who is in France. She is committed to the Tower. He is sent for. She saith that she was married to him secretly before Christmas last.

Thus is God displeased with us. The Scottish Queen was the 10th of this month at Boulogne, and meaneth to take shipping at Calais. Neither those in Scotland nor we here do like her going home. The Queen's Majesty hath three ships in the north seas to preserve the fishers from pirates. I think they will be sorry to see her pass.

The Queen's Majesty doth well, thanked be God, although not well quieted with this mishap of the Lady Catherine.

Your Lordship's to command,

W. Cecil.

Elizabeth herself wrote to assure Mary of the falseness of the report that she meant to intercept her, even while Lethington was pouring scorn upon Cecil's head for neglecting such a golden opportunity of capturing his Queen. "If two galleys may quietly pass," he wrote, "I wish the passport

had been liberally granted. To what purpose should you open your pack and sell more of your wares, or declare yourselves enemies to those whom you cannot offend?"[1] Elizabeth, however, was now relying upon the Scottish Council to see justice done in the matter of the Treaty, and Mary's promise, sent by Lord St. Colme, that she would follow her Council's advice, led to "friendly and sisterly offers of friendship" which, on the surface at least, augured well for the future:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

August 16, 1561.

Lord St. Colme brought us your letters dated the 8th of this present at Abbeville, signifying, that although by our answer to you by M. D'Oyssel, ye doubted our amity, yet after certain purposes passed betwixt you and our ambassador, ye assured us of your good meaning, and required credit for St. Colme, who has declared to us the same excuse for not ratifying the treaty as yourself did to our ambassador—whom we have briefly answered, as he can show you. If he shall not do so, lest you thought your reasons had satisfied us, summarily we assure you your answer is no satisfaction; we only require performance of your promise, whereto ye are bound by your seal and hand—in your own power as Queen of Scotland—which yourself, in words confess, concluded by your late husband's and your own ambassadors, to which your own nobility and people were privy, and without which no amity can continue. Yet seeing by the report of the bringer, that ye mean forthwith on coming home, to follow the advice of your Council there, we suspend our conceit of all unkindness, and assure you we be fully resolved on performance thereof, to unite in sure amity, and live with you in the knot of friendship, as we are in that of nature and blood. And herein we are so earnestly determined, that if the contrary follow (which God

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 544.

forbid) the world shall see the occasion to be in you, not in us; as the story witnesseth the like of the King your father, our uncle, whom evil councillors advised against meeting our father at York to conclude a perpetual bond: whereof we know witnesses remain with us, and some (we think) with you. For the report that we had sent our admiral and navy to impeach your passage: your servants know its falseness, and that we have only two or three small barques at sea, to apprehend certain Scottish pirates haunting our seas under pretence of letters of marque: whereto we were almost compelled by the complaint of the Spanish Ambassador. On this matter we earnestly require your consideration at coming to your realm—the rather for respect that should be betwixt Scotland, our realm, France, Spain, and the House of Burgundy. Recommending us to you with the request not to neglect this our friendly and sisterly offers of friendship, which before God we mean and intend to accomplish.

This "sisterly" letter did not reach Mary in time to prevent anxiety on the score of her voyage from adding to the sadness of saying good-bye to the fair land of France in which the happiest years of her life had been spent. If her preparations had not been so far advanced, she told Throckmorton, his mistress's unkindness might have stayed her passage, but now she was determined to sail at all costs. Of his last interviews with the widowed Queen, Throckmorton sent Elizabeth a vivid account in diary form, which, though slightly out of chronological order, deserves quoting at length for its clear statement of Mary's case in her own words, as well as for its involuntary tribute to her dauntless spirit:

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

["*Cabala*," 3rd Edition, 1691.]

PARIS, *July* 26, 1561.

The 20th of this present, in the afternoon, I had access to the Queen of Scotland, with whom I found

M. D'Oyssel talking when I entered into her chamber. She dismissed him and rose from her chair when she saw me; unto whom I said: "Madam, whereas you sent lately M. D'Oyssel to the Queen my mistress, to demand her Majesty's safe conduct for your free passage by sea into your own realm, and to be accommodated with such favours as upon events you might have need of upon the coast of England, and also did further require the free passage of the said M. D'Oyssel into Scotland through England, the Queen my mistress hath not thought good to suffer the said M. D'Oyssel to pass into Scotland, nor to satisfy your desire for your passage home, neither for such other favours as you required to be accommodated withal at her Majesty's hand, inasmuch as you have not accomplished the ratification of the treaty accorded by your deputies in July, now twelve months ago, at Edinburgh, which in honour you are bound many ways to perform: for besides that you stand bound by your hand and seal, whereby your Commissioners were authorized, it may please you, Madam, to remember that many promises have been made for the performance thereof, as well in the King your husband's time, as by yourself since his death, and yet notwithstanding the treaty remaineth unratified, as before, a whole year being expired for the accord thereof, which by your Commissioners was agreed to have been ratified within sixty days: so as upon this unamicable and indirect dealing, the Queen my mistress hath refused you these favours and pleasures by you required, and hath grounded this her Majesty's strangeness unto you upon your own behaviour, which her Majesty doth uncomfortably, both because your Majesty is, as she is, a Queen, her next neighbour, and next kinswoman. Nevertheless, her Majesty hath commanded me to say unto you, Madam, that if you can like to be better advised, and to ratify the treaty, as you in honour are bound to do, her Majesty will not only give you and yours free passage, but also will be most glad to see you pass

through her realm, that you may be accommodated with the pleasure thereof, and such friendly conference may be had betwixt you as all unkindness may be quenched, and an assured perfect amity betwixt you both for ever established."

Having said thus much unto her, the Queen sat down, and made me sit also by her. She then commanded all the audience to retire them further off, and said: "Monsieur l'Ambassador, I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported; but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the Queen your mistress was content to have, when she talked with M. D'Oyssel. There is nothing that doth more grieve me than that I did so forget myself as to require of the Queen your mistress that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into my own realm, I think, without her passport or licence; for though the late King your master used all the impeachment he could both to stay me, and to catch me when I came hither, yet you know Monsieur l'Ambassador, I came hither safely: and I may have as good means to help me home again as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly I was so far from evil meaning to the Queen your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I have; and yet you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ both their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have, Monsieur l'Ambassador, oftentimes told me that the amity between the Queen your mistress and me was very necessary and profitable for us both. I have some reason now to think that the Queen your mistress is not of that mind; for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects

than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman, and her next neighbour; and trow you that there can be so good meaning between my subjects and her which have forgotten their principal duty to me their sovereign, as there should be betwixt her and me? I perceive that the Queen your mistress doth think, that because my subjects have done me wrong, my friends and allies will forsake me also: indeed your mistress doth give me cause to seek friendship where I did not mind to ask it; but Monsieur l'Ambassador, let the Queen your mistress think that it will be thought very strange among all princes and countries that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now being widow, to impeach my going into my own country. I ask her nothing but friendship; I do not trouble her state, nor practice with her subjects: and yet I know there be in her realm those that be inclined enough to hear offers. I know also they be not of the mind she is of, neither in religion, nor other things. The Queen, your mistress, doth say that I am young, and do lack experience; indeed I confess, I am younger than she is, and do want experience; but I have age enough and experience to use myself towards my friends and kinsfolk friendly and uprightly; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than it becometh of a Queen, and my next kinswoman. Well, Monsieur l'Ambassador, I could tell you that I am as she is, a Queen allied and friended, as is known; and I tell you also that my heart is not inferior to hers, so as an equal respect would be had betwixt us on both parts; but I will not contend in comparisons: first, you know that the accord was made in the late King my Lord and husband's time; by whom, as reason was, I was commanded and governed; and for such delays as were then in his time used in the said ratification, I am not to be charged. Since his death, my interest

failing in the realm of France, I left to be advised by the Council of France, and they left me also to mine own Council; indeed, my uncles being, as you know, of the affairs of this realm, do not think meet to advise me in my affairs; neither do my subjects, nor the Queen your mistress, think meet that I should be advised by them, but rather by the Council of my own realm. There are none of them, nor any such as is thought meet that I should be counselled by. The matter is great; it toucheth both them and me; and in so great a matter it were meet to use the advice of the wisest of them. I do not think it meet in so great a matter to take the counsel of private and unexpert persons, and such as the Queen your mistress knoweth be not most acceptable to such of my subjects as she would have me be advised by. I have oftentimes told you, that as soon as I had their advices, I would send the Queen your mistress such an answer as should be reasonable. I am about to haste me home as fast as I may, to the intent that the matter might be answered; and now the Queen your mistress will in no wise suffer either me to pass home, or him that I sent into my realm. So as Monsieur l'Ambassador it seemeth the Queen your mistress will be the cause why in this manner she is not satisfied, or else she will not be satisfied; but liketh to make this matter a quarrel still betwixt us, whereof she is the author. The Queen your mistress saith, that I am young; she might as well say that I were as foolish as young, if I would, in the State and Country that I am in, proceed to such a matter of myself, without any counsel; for that which was done by the King my late Lord and husband must not be taken to be my act; so as neither in honour, nor in conscience, I am bound, as you say I am, to perform all that I was by my Lord and husband commanded to do; and yet I will say truly unto you, and as God favours me, I did never mean otherwise unto her than becometh me to my good sister and cousin, nor meant her any more harm than to myself; God forgive them

which have otherwise persuaded her, if there be any such. What is the matter, pray you, Monsieur l'Ambassador that doth so offend the Queen your mistress, to make her thus evil-affected to me? I never did her wrong, neither in deed, nor speech. It should the less grieve me if I had deserved otherwise than well; and though the world may be of divers judgments of us and our doings one to another, I do well know, God that is in Heaven can and will be a true Judge, both of our doings and meanings."

I answered: "Madam, I have declared unto you my charge commanded by the Queen my mistress, and have no more to say to you on her behalf, but to know your answer for the ratification of the treaty."

The Queen answered: "I have aforetime showed you, and do now tell you again, that it is not meet for to proceed in this matter without the advice of the nobles and states of mine own realm, which I can by no means have until I come among them. You know as well as I, there is none come hither since the death of the King my late husband and Lord, but such as are either come for their private business, or such as dare not tarry in Scotland. But, I pray you, Monsieur l'Ambassador tell me, how riseth this strange affection in the Queen your mistress towards me? I desire to know it, to the intent I may reform myself, if I have failed."

I answered: "Madam, I have by the commandment of the Queen my mistress, declared unto you the cause of her miscontentation already: but seeing you so desirous to hear how you may be charged with any deserving, as one that speaketh of mine own mind, without instruction, I will be so bold, Madam, by way of discourse, to tell you. As soon as the Queen my mistress, after the death of her sister, came to the Crown of England, you bore the arms of England diversely quartered with your own, and used in your country notoriously the style and title of the Queen my mistress, which was never by you put in use in Queen Mary's time: and if anything

can be more prejudicial to a prince than to usurp the title and interest belonging to them, Madam, I do refer it to your own judgment. You see, such as be noted usurpers of other folk's states, cannot patiently be borne withal for such doings. Much more the Queen my mistress hath cause to be grieved (considering her undoubted and lawful interest) with the offer of such injury."

"Monsieur l'Ambassador," said she, "I was then under the commandment of King Henry my father, and of the King my lord and husband; and whatsoever was done then by their order and commandments, the same was in like manner continued until both their deaths; since which time, you know I have neither borne the arms, nor used the title of England. Methinks these my doings might ascertain the Queen your mistress that that which was done before, was done by commandment of them that had the power over me; and also in reason she ought to be satisfied, seeing I order my doings as I tell you. It were no great dishonour to the Queen my cousin, your mistress, though I, as Queen also, did bear the Arms of England; for, I am sure, some, inferior to me, and that be not on every side so well apparented as I am, do bear the Arms of England. You cannot deny but that my grandmother was the King her father's sister, and, I trow, the eldest sister he had. I do assure you, Monsieur l'Ambassador, and do speak unto you truly as I think, I never meant nor thought matter against the Queen my cousin. Indeed I know what I am, and would be loath either to do wrong, or suffer too much wrong to myself: and now that I have told you my mind plainly, I pray behave yourself betwixt us like a good Minister, whose part is to make things betwixt Princes rather better than worse." And so I took my leave of the said Queen for that time. . . .

To the intent I might the better decipher whether the Queen of Scotland did mind to continue her voyage, I did, the 21st of July, repair to take my leave of her; unto whom I then declared that

inasmuch as I was your Majesty's Ambassador, as well to her for the matters of Scotland, as to the French King your good brother, and hearing, by common bruit, that she minded to take her voyage very shortly, I thought it my duty to take my leave of her, and was sorry she had not given your Majesty so good occasion of amity as that I, your Minister, could not conveniently wait upon her to her embarking. The said Queen made answer: "Monsieur l'Ambassador, if my preparations were not so much advanced as they are, peradventure the Queen your Mistress's unkindness might stay my voyage; but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatsoever come of it; I trust the wind will be so favourable that I shall not need to come on the coast of England; for if I do, then, Monsieur l'Ambassador, the Queen your mistress shall have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me. Peradventure that casualty might be better for me than to live. In this matter God's Will be fulfilled." I answered, she might amend all this matter if she would, and find more amity of your Majesty and your realm than of any other prince or country. The Queen answered: "I have, methinketh, offered and spoken that which might suffice the Queen my sister, if she will take anything well at my hand. I trust, for all this, we shall agree better than some would have us; and for my part, I will not take all things to the worst. I hope also the Queen my sister and cousin will do the like; whereof I doubt not, if Ministers do no harm betwixt us." And so the said Queen embraced me. . . .

The Queen of Scotland departed from St. Germains yesterday, the 25th of July, towards her voyage, as she bruiteth it. She sendeth most of her train straight to Newhaven [Havre] to embark, and herself goeth such a way between both as she will be at her choice to go to Newhaven, or to Calais: Upon the

sudden, what she will do, or where she will embark, she will make known to never a Scotsman, and but to few French; and for all these shows and boasts, some think she will not go at all; and yet all her stuff is sent down to the sea, and none other bruit in her house but of her hasty going. If it would please your Majesty to cause some to be sent privily to all the ports on this side, the certainty shall be better known to your Majesty that way, by the laying of her vessels, than I can advertise it hence. She hath said that at her coming into Scotland, she will forthwith rid the realm of all the Englishmen there, including your Majesty's agent, and forbid mutual traffic with your Majesty's subjects. If she make the haste to embark that she seemeth to do, she will be almost ready to embark by that time this shall come to your Majesty's hands.

It was on August 14 that Mary bade her last farewell to France, and to the beloved Cardinal and Duc de Guise, whom she was destined never to see again. Three other uncles embarked with her to see her safely established among her unknown subjects—Claude, Duc d'Aumale, René, Marquis d'Elbœuf, and Francis, the Grand Prior. Brantôme and her four Maries (Mary Seton, Mary Beaton, Mary Livingstone, and Mary Fleming) also accompanied her, together with an escort of French and Scottish gentlemen. The details of her voyage, as Andrew Lang observes, are "dim as the sea mist which, earlier or later, fell on Mary's galleons—the protection of heaven, said her friends; the warning of an angry God, said Knox." Sailing from Calais with two galleys and either two or four great ships—accounts differing on this point—she landed at the pier at Leith on the morning of the 19th, undismayed to find no preparations for her reception, owing to the unexpected hastening of her departure from France. "The Queen's Majesty's ships that were upon the seas to cleanse them from pirates," wrote Cecil to Throckmorton on August 26th, "saw her and saluted her galleys, and staying her ships examined them of pirates, and dismissed them gently. One Scottish ship they

detained, as vehemently suspected of piracy."[1] Thankful no doubt to have escaped the perils of the sea, Mary on landing rested for awhile in the few rooms which were hastily prepared for her, before proceeding on her way to Holyrood Palace. "Incontinent upon the news of her landing," wrote Randolph to Throckmorton, "the Duke of Châtelherault arrived first, next Lord James, then Arran. Since that time the repair has been of all sorts, all men welcome and well received, good entertainment, great cheer, fair words."[2] Mary's girlish beauty, the unaffected grace with which she invested every act, and her brave attempts to adapt herself to all her strange surroundings, won the hearts of everyone except that of the invincible John Knox:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Wright's "*Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

EDINBURGH, *September* 7, 1561.

. . . Where your Honour exhorteth us to stoutness, I assure you the voice of one man is able in one hour to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears. Mr. Knox spoke upon Tuesday unto the Queen. He knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her weep; but well you know there be of that sex those who will do that as well for anger as for grief, though in this the Lord James will disagree with me. She charged him with his book,[3] with his severe dealing with all men that disagreed with him in opinions. She willed him to use more meekness in his sermons. Some things he spoke unto her contentation in mitigating the rigour of his book, and in some things he pleased her very little; in special speaking against the Mass he declared the grievous plagues of God that had fallen upon all estates for committing of idolatry. He concluded so in the end with her that he hath liberty to speak freely his conscience, to give unto

[1] Hardwicke State Papers, Vol. I., p. 176.
[2] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 547.
[3] The embarrassing "First Blast."

her such reverence as becometh the minister of God unto the superior powers. He prayeth, and hath daily prayed, for her as the preachers were wont to pray for Queen Mary, etc. The bruit that he hath talked with the Queen maketh the Papists doubt what will become of the world. It liketh not them well that I resort so often unto the Court. I have been there thrice since Sunday. But of all they marvel most what traffic the Lord of Lethington maketh with you. She herself hath found three points necessary to maintain her state; first to make peace with England; next to be served with the Protestants—in the other she findeth not that she looked for. The third is to enrich her crown with the Abbey lands. Which three, if she do, what shall there lack in her (saving a good husband) to lead a happy life? Seeing your Honour hath one with you with whom you can consider these things better than I can write of them, I leave them to your judgments and talk of some other matters.

Upon Tuesday last she made her entry [into Edinburgh]. She dined in the Castle. The first sight that she saw after she came out of the Castle was a boy of six years of age, who came as it were from heaven out of a round globe, presenting unto her a Bible, and Psalter, and the keys of the gates, and speaking unto her the verses which I send you. The rest were terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolatry. There were burnt Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, in the time of their sacrifice. They were minded to have had a priest burned at the altar, at the elevation. The Earl of Huntly stayed that pageant, but hath played many as wicked as that since he came hither. . . .

Your Honour's always bounden and ready to command.

THO. RANDOLPH.

It was not enough that Mary issued a proclamation forbidding any attempt to change the newly established

religion "until altered by her and the Estates of the Realm." To Knox, "one Mass was more terrible than ten thousand armed men," and it roused him to fury to think that she should be permitted to have her own service in the Chapel Royal. Her kirk was a harlot, he dared to tell her in a long theological discussion which he reports at length in his own "History of the Reformation." Maitland bears witness to his intolerance in one of his letters to Cecil[1]:

WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

EDINBURGH, *October* 25, 1561.

The Queen my mistress behaves herself so gently in every behalf as reasonably we can require; if anything be amiss the fault is rather in ourselves. You know the vehemency of Mr. Knox's spirit, which cannot be bridled, and yet doth sometimes utter such sentences as cannot easily be digested by a weak stomach. I would wish he should deal with her more gently, being a young princess unpersuaded. For this am I accounted to be too politic; but surely in her comporting with him, she doth declare a wisdom far exceeding her age. God grant her the assistance of His spirit. Surely I see in her a good towardness, and think that the Queen your sovereign shall be able to do much with her in religion, if they once enter into a good familiarity.

A theological discussion between Mary and Elizabeth would have been as edifying as that between Mary and Knox when he called his sovereign's church a harlot to her face; but this was not the only occasion on which the hope was expressed that the English Queen would succeed in converting her Catholic cousin. Elizabeth at the time, however, was more anxious about their matrimonial affairs than the safety of their souls. She even encouraged the King of Sweden again in order to spoil Mary's chances in that direction, for she meant to have no more foreign rulers across the border if she could help it:

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 565.

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *September* 13, 1561.

The coming of the King of Sweden is still considered certain, and such preparations are made that it is difficult to help thinking that he will come. I have used every effort to find out the secret of this business, but I can discover nothing more than, as I have told your Majesty, that the Queen does not think of marrying him, and is in no pleasure at his coming. On the contrary, she has lately tried openly to stop it. Since, however, the Queen of Scotland decided to go to her kingdom, and the Scottish rebels did not gather to prevent her passage as this Queen wished, the latter has determined to dissemble with the Swede, and let him come, for fear he should marry her of Scotland. The Queen of England and her friends therefore wish to appear undecided and indifferent, and to give the idea that perhaps she may marry the Swede. Robert is consequently making a show of being very displeased, which I am sure is not really the case, as he is in greater favour than ever. The King of Sweden's ambassador does not fail to see through this mystery, and says he has informed his master what he thinks about it, but nevertheless he is sure he will come, and he concludes that the only cause of his visit is the great affection he bears the Queen, and his desire to see her. Your Majesty may judge how likely it is that a new King, with a war on his hands, or suspicions of one, and whose power consists in his money alone, should come so long a voyage with so little reason, and leave behind him all his property in the hands of a servant. What I suspect, and many others think, is that he is being brought over by the enemies of Robert, and that he is coming for a settled arrangement; if not here, then in Scotland. There is a statement made that an English merchant, named John Dimock, who recently went to Sweden to sell some jewels to the King, told

him not to fail to come to England on any account, as all the realm desired him. Dimock confesses that he said this on the instructions of Pickering and Yaxley (of the Queen's chamber.) It will be a strange thing to me if there is not something important under this visit if it takes place, for the King's people here do not seem to me so thoughtless as not to let him know his error, if his coming here were so purposeless as they declare. I have already advised your Majesty of the imprisonment of Lady Catherine, and that the Queen had summoned the Earl of Hertford, who was in France. On his arrival, he was examined, and cast into the Tower. They say he confesses that Lady Catherine is his wife, and from the form of the confession and other indications, there is some suspicion that the marriage was effected with the connivance and countenance of some of the nobles. They are now investigating this with all possible diligence. Great suspicions are entertained of the Earl of Arundel, with whom Lord Robert has had such words that the Earl went home, and he and others are drawing up copies of the testimony given in the inquiry respecting the death of Lord Robert's wife. Robert is now doing his best to repair matters, as it appears that more is being discovered in that affair than he wished. Some suspicion is also held of the Earl of Bedford, who is absent from the Court. They say Robert is to be made Earl of Exeter (Leicester).

What I understand by it all is that both Lady Catherine's marriage, and the bringing over of the King of Sweden, were arranged a year ago, after the death of Robert's wife, and that Cecil (who was then in great disgrace with the Queen and at enmity with Robert) was at the bottom of it, in the fear that, in accord with common belief, the Queen would marry Robert and restore religion to obtain your Majesty's favour. Since Cecil has returned to the good graces of the Queen, and has satisfied himself that there will be no change of religion, he has gradually and cautiously

separated himself from these negotiations, and is now endeavouring to hush up and amend the past, which he can very well do, as he has absolutely taken possession of the Queen and Council, but he is so perplexed and unpopular that I do not know how he will be able to stand if there are any disturbances.

What is of most importance now, as I am informed, is that the Queen is becoming dropsical, and has already began to swell extraordinarily. I have been advised of this from three different sources and by a person who has the opportunity of being an eye witness. To all appearance she is falling away, and is extremely thin, and the colour of a corpse. I do not know whether the coming of this Swede is in consequence of any news he may have received of this malady of the Queen's, but I do know that the Marchioness of Northampton, who is in a better position to judge than anyone else, is very intimate with the Swedish ambassador, and has received valuable presents from him. That the Marchioness and Lady Cobham consider the Queen in a dangerous condition is beyond doubt, and if they are mistaken I am mistaken also. I can obtain no more precise intelligence, but I think there is some foundation for what I say.

Whilst the talk of this King's coming continues, the Queen is using every precaution to ensure that the Queen of Scots shall not marry anyone doubtful. She is doing this by persuading the Scots not to let their Queen marry a foreign prince, and offering to help and favour them if she will do as they (the English) tried to get her to do after the King of France died. As the Earl of Arran is interested in this, and many other Scots will benefit by it, the Scottish lords have given their Queen to understand that if she marries a foreigner they will withdraw their fealty. This news was brought five days ago by Lethington, who came here nominally about the ratification of peace requested by the Queen of England. This Lethington is secretary of the Queen of Scots,

and served the same office last year to the congregation of rebels, where he managed everything. He has been welcomed here with his news because, not only would this marriage with the Earl of Arran be very advantageous to the Queen of England, as ensuring her against any present danger from her of Scotland, but it would be a good example to show the English that their Queen also might marry a subject. Lethington returned at once, successful, he said, in the ratification of peace, but I am quite sure if she (the Queen of Scots) does not act as her subjects ask her in the matter of her marriage, that an arrangement exists between the Scottish lords and this Queen here to resist her, and to prevent the entrance into the kingdom of anyone come to marry her.

The reason the Queen of England did not prevent the Scottish Queen from going to her country, as she had decided to do, was only because the Earl of Arran and his band thought best not to slight her too soon, but considered it wiser to let her come, and then take possession of her. I also understand that they have proposed to her to confirm the change of religion they adopted last year, and, in answer to this, and also about the marriage, she has told them she must have time to think carefully, and cannot determine anything against her conscience. I am afraid they will press her so much that, if there are no foreign forces to protect her, her own friends will be unable to resist the rebels, fostered and countenanced by this Queen here. Mass is said in her house, but this has not been done without tumults and disturbances among the people, which disturbances the heretics themselves have tried to pacify for the present.

Serious trouble was soon brewing in Edinburgh between the bigoted zealots of the Kirk and their Catholic Queen. Lord James and Lethington sided with Mary as far as they dared, even supporting her when she imprisoned the newly-elected magistrates of Edinburgh for their gross affront in issuing a proclamation expelling "monks, friars, priests,

nuns, adulterers, and all sic filthy persons," and ordered a new election. It was this bold stand on Mary's part which stirred Knox to write the famous letter that follows:

JOHN KNOX TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Haynes. "*Burghley Papers.*"]

EDINBURGH, *October* 7, 1561.

If God had not so often (right Worshipful) trapped the men of most singular experience in their own wisdom, when they have begun more to credit their own imaginations than the will of God manifestly revealed, I would have judged your counsel most wholesome; but because I find so many examples of God's punishment in that behalf, I fear to do evil to them that good may come of it; and yet, if to suffer impiety to be committed, which by just power might have been gainstood and repressed, be to commit iniquity (as the light of Nature, be it ever so obscured, doth teach us that it is) then can I not but accuse myself that I did not more zealously gainstand that idol at the first erecting. Men delighting to swim betwixt two waters have often complained upon my severity, fearing, as it seemed, that the same should trouble the quietness of brethren. But I do fear that that which men term lenity and dulciness do bring upon themselves and others more fearful destruction than hath ensued the vehemency of any preacher within this realm.

That our Queen shall be allured by any such means, as we use it, is altogether contrary to my judgment, for as I have spoken, so I see in experience that by permission Satan groweth bold. For now she feareth not to set forth proclamations contrary to those that command whoremongers, adulterers, and idolaters, to be punished according to the former and established reformation. The Papists, I grant, blow the bellows, but the faintness of some, flattery of others, and corrupt affections of such as ought to withstand such attempts, are like shortly to destroy

the face of that building which God by his power had founded among us. This I write from dolor of heart. Some of no small estimation have said with open mouth the Queen neither is, neither shall be, of our opinion; and in very deed her whole proceedings do declare that the Cardinal's lessons are so deeply printed in her heart that the substance and the quality are like to perish together. I would be glad to be deceived, but I fear I shall not. In communication with her I espied such craft as I have not found in such age. Since, hath the Court been dead to me, and I to it. One thing I cannot conceal; too much bearing is like to break the most strong back, if we cast not off the burden betimes. To be plain, those that always have had the favour and estimation of the most godly, begin to come in contempt because they open not themselves more stoutly against impiety. Doubt not but your Council may somewhat reward the persons. Ye know, my Lord James and Lethington, whom if God do not otherwise conduct, are like to lose that which not without travail hath heretofore been conquest. At this very instant are the Provost of Edinburgh and Baillies thereof commanded to ward [imprisoned] by reason of their proclamation against Papists and whoremongers. The whole blame lyeth upon the necks of the two forenamed, by reason of their bearing. God deliver us from the plague, which manifestly appeareth. Thus being troubled I have troubled your Honour, whom I commit to the protection of the Omnipotent.

Yours to command in Godliness,

JOHN KNOX.

Darnley now appears on the scene for the first time in a letter from Quadra written at the time of his mother's imprisonment in 1561, when he was sixteen, and Mary three years older. The subject is introduced by an incident which shows—though the scare referred to proved unfounded—how uneasy lay the head which wore a crown in those unsettled days:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *November* 27, 1561.

In conversation with the Queen about the intelligence written from France by a certain Juan Battista Beltran, a native of Venice, to the effect that the Duke of Nemours had tried to abduct the Duke of Orleans and poison the Duke of Vendôme, I said that the first seemed most improbable for several reasons, and as to the second, it was not by any means to be believed of a gentleman like the Duke, and above all on the statement of such a man as this Beltran, whom I knew well as being unworthy of credit. She asked me a great many questions about him, and seeing that I answered frankly she said she wished to divulge a secret of me, which was that when Beltran was here some months ago he had informed her that *your Majesty was trying to have her killed by poison*, and that for this purpose a certain Greek had come hither, and I was concerned in it. I made light of it and laughed, but told her that if she had acted as I should have expected from her prudence she would have informed me of this in time to have the man punished. When she saw that I might have good reason to take offence at this she said that Beltran had not revealed it here, but in France, and that her ambassador had only written it to her two days ago, to which I had no answer to make, although I knew the excuse was false. On the contrary, I pretended to believe her, and appeared satisfied. I have since endeavoured to get to the bottom of this, and find it is true that this Beltran, who was here two or three months ago, told Cecil that the Greek Vergecio, of whom I have already written to your Majesty, had come hither on behalf of the Pope to arrange an agreement by which the Papists were to kill the Queen and Lord Robert. It is said that Cecil was very busy investigating the matter, but satisfied himself at last that the man was simply a swindler, and had only come to get money from them.

I am much surprised at the Queen's inventing the other story and prevaricating thus without any reason, although I thought that as soon as she had said it she repented, and tried to get over it by appearing to consider it the absurdity it is. I know however that it was not looked upon at all as a joke at first, and that Cecil himself was waiting at a door for many hours on the watch for two men described by Beltran, who were to be arrested. This would not have been done, at least by Cecil himself, if they had not taken the thing seriously.

The Queen has sent a summons to Lady Margaret Douglas to come hither with her husband and children. It is said publicly that the reason of this is that she shows favour to the Catholics in the province of York, and that consequently the Bishop dares not visit his diocese or punish any Papist. This reason, however, is a pretended one, and has been made public to deceive the people as to the reality, which is that the Queen hears that Lady Margaret is trying to marry her son to the Queen of Scots. This has been divulged by one of her servants, whom the Queen has taken into her service and rewarded for the information, and inquiries are now being made as to those who may have taken part in the matter. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland and the Duke of Norfolk have been brought hither at once with the excuse that the Queen wished them to pass Christmas with her. I understand that Lady Margaret is much distressed, as she thinks she will be thrown into the Tower, and that her son's life is in danger. I am told that she is resolved not to deny the allegation about the marriage of the Queen of Scots, as she says it is no crime, and as that Queen is her niece, the daughter of her brother, she thinks she has done no harm in advising her to do what she believes would be the best for her, namely, to marry her son, by which the succession of this kingdom would be secured to the Scottish Queen, and all reason for strife would be avoided in case of the Queen of

England dying without issue. If the English should allege that the Queen of Scots could not succeed in consequence of her being a foreigner, she would nevertheless reign over the kingdom by right of this youth, the son of Lady Margaret, if she married him, as he is an Englishman and beyond doubt the nearest heir to the crown after her. This Queen, however, bases her security on there being no certain successor to whom the people could turn if they were to tire of her rule, and I understand she is in great alarm about this business, and determined to obtain possession of the persons without the reason being made public, as she fears that if the people were to understand the business it might please them and cause a disturbance if Lady Margaret were free. In order to summon her without turmoil they have taken the pretext of finding fault with her about religion, which will make her unpopular with London people. This gives great pain to the faithful, as they had placed all their trust in this woman and her son, and if they dared I am sure they would help her, and forces would be forthcoming in the country itself if they had any hope of help from without.

Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, who had been excluded from the English succession in the closing years of Henry VIII., owing to her Roman Catholic leanings, had planned the match between Mary and her son before the Scottish Queen's return. She was not one lightly to forego the privileges of her direct descent from Henry VIII.'s eldest sister, though her mother had obtained a Papal decree invalidating the marriage of which she was the offspring, and the Scottish Estates had pronounced her a bastard. Lady Margaret found every encouragement for her ambitions in the disaffected northern counties, whence, with her family, she was now summoned by Elizabeth, who was not without some inkling of her intrigues. She was accordingly handed over to the custody of Sir Richard and Lady Sackville at Sheen, while her husband was committed to the Tower; and at least twelve months elapsed before Elizabeth saw fit to release them. Lady Margaret was supported in her

matrimonial scheme by the Catholic nobles of Scotland, for whom Darnley, although a naturalized Englishman, was a fit rallying point as the heir of two great Scottish houses. Mary had been approached on the subject shortly after her arrival, and though she declined to commit herself one way or the other, she left Darnley's tutor, Arthur Lilliard, to whom had been entrusted the delicate task of making this secret proposal, with the impression that she would bear it well in mind. No word of this seems to have reached Knox or Randolph; nor was it mentioned when Lethington visited the English Court with his mistress's formal messages of courtesy, accompanied by the defiant declaration of the Scottish lords that they would stand by their Queen if Elizabeth insisted on the ratification of the treaty which they had themselves helped to make. Their mistress, they said, was willing to forgive the ungenerous refusal of the passage through England; "but if it should chance, as God forbid! that the Queen of England would use any discourtesy towards the Queen their sovereign, or give occasion on her part to violate the good amity and peace between their two Majesties, she might be well assured that they, acknowledging themselves to be her subjects, would not forget their duty for the maintenance of the Queen their sovereign's just quarrel."[1] Elizabeth took this protest in surprisingly good part, perhaps because the arrest of Lady Catherine Grey and the Countess of Lennox, with all the dark suspicions roused thereby, made her more tolerant of Mary's claims to the succession. It was a treacherous, uncertain outlook, whatever point of view she took, and she did not mend matters by discouraging her best advisers. That Cecil was again out of favour at this time is obvious from his bitter complaint on the subject to Throckmorton:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON.

["*Hardwicke State Papers.*"]

WESTMINSTER, *December* 22, 1561.

. . . I might lament my place that I hold being to outward appearance, because of frequentation with

[1] Froude.

her Majesty, of much credit; yet, indeed, of none at all. But my remedy is to leave the place; wherein my only grief is to see the likelihood of such successors as I am sure will destroy all my good purposes. I may not write, but yet I may lament. What is my credit to help anybody, may appear in myself, that have been forced to sell off the land which I had when I came to this place with the Queen—one hundred and fifty pounds of good known lands. And, at this instant, I am with burden of debt compelled to ask leave of her Majesty to sell away my office in the Common Pleas, that hath been the only stay of my living these fifteen years, and her Majesty doth license me so to do. But so that I might be able to procure furniture for others to serve her Majesty, I cared not for myself.

I have carried in my head, with care, the means how her Majesty should from time to time conduct her affairs. I see so little proof of my labour, by reason her Majesty not allowing them, that I have left all to the wide world. I do only keep on accounts for show, but inwardly I meddle not, leaving things to work in a course, as the clock is left when the barrel is wound up. It is time to end these complaints to you, who cannot remedy them; but yet because you write to me divers times of matters worthy your consideration, thinking that you have bestowed them well on me, in hopes that I will fashion them and put them forth, when you see I have no comfort so to do, I thought not inconvenient to note thus much to you of my imperfection.

Here be no small practices in forging, some think of the succession, if her Majesty should not marry or leave issue. This song hath many parts; but, for myself, I have no skill but in plain song. Others be devising how to hinder religion, the rather because her Majesty seemeth easy therein; and if I do no good, I am sure therein I do no hurt; and in respect

thereof, principally, do I the rest of all my services. I find a great desire in both these Queens to have an interview; and knowing the diversity of both their intents, although I wish it, yet I know it dangerous to be any singular doer therein.

To Mary's protest that she desired nothing more than to be on good terms with her "sister," and her promise to sign the treaty if her Majesty would consent to its revision at the hands of a joint commission of Englishmen and Scotsmen, Elizabeth replied on November 23rd that she saw "no good cause to be so well satisfied as we looked for," yet considered her meaning "sincere and just as ours is." At the same time, she did not like the idea of a new commission, and invited Mary instead, frankly, to state in a private letter, what were her real objections to the treaty. "When princesses treat by open assembly of ambassadors," she wrote, "the world, especially the subjects of both, judge the amity not sound, but shaken or crazed, which we would no wise to be conceived of ours. . . . You shall see we require nothing but justice, honour, and reason." [1] Mary thereupon took Elizabeth at her word:

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

SETON, *January* 5, 1562.

Whereas by your letters of 23rd November, we understand that our answer given to Sir Peter Mewtas, as he reported it, is not so satisfactory as ye looked for: we cannot imagine any lack therein. As our meaning is and has been sincere and upright, we so tempered our answer as we thought might well stand with your content, and quietness of us both: wishing to that end that the treaty might be reviewed by some commissioners sufficiently authorised on both parts—whereto you have in your letter opened such a just and necessary consideration, that the world shall not by our dealing by open assembly of ambassadors, judge that the amity is not sound, but in

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 571—2.

some points shaken or erased. This we well allow and take as a plain declaration of your good mind, and token of your natural love to us. Therefore, where ye think it better we should either communicate privily to Randolph your servant, or rather by our own letters to you, the just causes moving us to stay the ratification, we willingly embrace that same, and presently mean so plainly to utter our mind to you, that ye shall well perceive the memory of all former strange accidents is clearly extinguished on our part, and that now without reservation we deal frankly with you in such sort as is convenient for two sisters professing such firm amity to treat. We leave to touch in what time the treaty was passed—by whose command, by what ministers, how authorised, or the sufficiency of their commission—though the least of these is worthy consideration—but will only touch that head which is meet for us to provide, and on your part not inconvenient, but such as in honour, justice, and reason ye may well allow. How prejudicial that treaty is to such title and interest as, by birth and natural descent of your own lineage, may fall to us, by inspection of the treaty ye may easily perceive, and how slenderly a matter of so great consequence is wrapped up in obscure terms. We know how near we are descended of the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to make us as it were a stranger from it! We trust being so near your cousin, ye would be loth we should receive so manifest an injury as all utterly to be debarred from that title which in possibility may fall unto us. We will deal frankly with you, and wish that ye deal friendly with us. We will have no judge at present of the equity of our demand but yourself. If we had such a matter to treat with any other prince, there is no person whose advice we would rather follow. Such is the account we make of your amity, and opinion of your uprightness in judgment, that though the matter partly touches yourself, we dare adventure to put much in your

hands, and will require nothing of you but that we could find in our heart to grant to you, if the like case were ours. For that treaty, so far as concerns us, we will do all that in reason may be required, or rather enter into a new one, such as may stand without our prejudice, in favour of you and the lawful issue of your body; provided that our interest to that crown, failing yourself and the said issue, may be put in good surety. Whereon the matter being so knit up, and all seed of dissension uprooted, we shall present to the world such an amity as has never been seen. We having written thus to show the bottom of our mind nakedly, trust to be answered in like fashion.

After this candid correspondence, the suggestions for a meeting between the two Queens referred to in Cecil's last letter were taken up with apparent eagerness on both sides. This was more palatable to the Protestants than to the Catholics, who regarded Mary's tolerance of heresy with increasing alarm. "If the Queens meet, the Papists think themselves utterly overthrown," wrote Randolph to Cecil; "they say plainly she cannot return a true Christian woman." Some idea of the extravagant tales which circulated among all Scottish reformers in those days—partly perhaps explaining their bitter hatred of the Catholics—may be gathered from another of Randolph's gossipy dispatches:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

EDINBURGH, *January* 15, 1562.

. . . The bishops are so intolerably licentious that it was not to be endured, and no better way to plague them than to pluck at their livings by her in whom their whole hope and trust was! There is a merry tale that Cardanus the Italian took upon him the cure of the Bishop of St. Andrews of a disease judged

by all incurable. He practised on him divers strange inventions; hung him certain hours a day by the heels, to cause him void at the mouth what nature could not otherwise expel—fed him many days with young whelps, used him with extreme heats, and as many days with extreme colds. Before his departure, he "roundeth" daily for six days certain unknown words in his ear, and used no medicine after. It is said he then put a devil within him, for he has since been better, and that this devil was given unto him of credit but for nine years, which, being near expired, either he must go to hell with his devil, or fall again into his old mischief to poison the whole country with his false practices. In token of repentance, besides his old concubine taken from her married husband, he hath this year had (his devil I trow was father to the one or both) a couple of children. His bastard brother the Bishop of Argyll has now two women with child besides his wife. The Bishop of Dunblane—it is shameful to speak it—spareth not his own daughter. The rest are alike.

By January 30 Mary had so persuaded the same ambassador of her good will that he assured Cecil: "The Queen's affection for the Queen's Majesty is so great that never was greater to any, or it is the deepest dissembled and the best covered that ever was."[1] A flattering portrait of Elizabeth herself belongs to this period, painted by Roger Ascham, whom, on ascending the throne, she had retained as Latin Secretary, and whose pride in his illustrious pupil is, perhaps, excusable. The portrait appears in his belated reply to a letter from his learned friend Sturmius, who had written to him more than two years previously on behalf of the King of Sweden in his suit for Elizabeth's hand in marriage. The delay in answering him, he explained in the course of a letter which is far too long to print in full, was entirely due to illness, being "so attacked by continual fevers that one scarcely left me without another immediately following in its place":

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I.

ROGER ASCHAM TO JOHN STURMIUS.

["*Zurich Letters.*" Second Series.]

LONDON, *April* 11, 1562.

Your last letter to me was dated Jan. 15, 1560. The two heads of which, one concerning the Scots' business, the other concerning the Queen's marriage, induced me to give it to the Queen herself to read; in both of which she discreetly noticed and graciously acknowledged and commended your singular respect towards herself. She exceedingly approved your judgment respecting the then existing state of affairs in Scotland, and even now she greatly values you for your solicitude about us and our affairs. The passage concerning her marriage, I well remember, she read over three times, with an occasional sweet smile, and a very modest and bashful silence. Respecting her marriage, my very dear John Sturmius, I have neither any thing certain to write myself, nor does any one else among us, I am sure, know what to think about it. It was not for nothing, my Sturmius, but after due consideration, that in that first long letter of mine to you I stated, that in her whole manner of life she more resembled Hippolyte than Phædra. Which observation I then referred, not to the grace of her person, but wholly to the chastity of her mind : for of her own nature, without the advice of any one, she is so entirely averse and abstinent from marriage. When I know any thing for certain, I will write you word by the first opportunity : meanwhile I can give you no hopes as far as the King of Sweden is concerned.

I wish you would sometimes write to master Cecil : for he is both most sound in religion, and most discreet in the government of the state ; and indeed, next to God and the Queen, the most firm support of both. He is also very fond of learning and learned men, and is himself well skilled in both Latin and Greek. You wish, I know, to hear from me respecting our affairs. But I have nothing that I consider better

worth writing about than the Queen herself. I will therefore briefly describe what great and important matters, since she has taken the helm of government, she has planned with wisdom, and accomplished with success. First of all, she dedicated her earliest endeavours to God, by nobly purifying the religion which she found miserably polluted; in the accomplishment of which object she exercised such moderation, that the Papists themselves have no complaint to make of having been severely dealt with. This peace established with God was followed by a peace with all the neighbouring sovereigns: and yet, on her accession to the throne she found this kingdom involved in a double war, with the Scots and the French. Next, she so firmly and prudently withstood the Guises in Scotland, who were plotting wonderful things against us, that there now exists between both kingdoms, and both sovereigns, as secure a peace and firm an alliance, as can possibly take place between two most quiet neighbourhoods or most united sisters. After religion, in the first place, and the State next, had been restored to so desirable a tranquillity, she applied her mind to the proper settlement of other internal improvements of the realm.

All the coin that had been debased, and entirely alloyed with copper, she has restored to the pure silver standard[1]; an arduous and royal task, which neither Edward nor even Henry himself ever ventured to undertake. She has furnished her armoury with such exquisite materials that no sovereign in Europe, I am sure, can show its equal. Her navy too she has so embellished and provided with every necessary, both as regards the abundance of stores and the ability of the sailors, that the resources of a wealthy kingdom might seem to have been expended upon this sole object.

[1] "Queen Elizabeth has restored all our gold and silver coinage to its former value, and rendered it pure and unalloyed; a truly royal act, and which you will wonder could have been effected in so short a time." Dr. Jewel to Peter Martyr, February 2, 1562 (Zurich Letters, First Series).

These things are of a public nature, and relate to the whole realm. Let us now inspect her personal character and pursuits. She is readily forgetful of private injury, but is a severe assertor of public justice. She does not excuse crime in any one; she leaves no one the hope of impunity; she cuts off from everyone the liberty of offending. She, least of all princes, covets the property and wealth of her subjects. and requires her own revenues to be expended sparingly and economically upon every private pleasure, but royally and liberally either for any object of public convenience, or for the splendour of domestic magnificence. But the glory she derives from herself, and the adornments of talent and learning that she possesses, I have described to you in another letter. I will now only state in addition, that neither at Court, nor in the universities, nor among our heads in church or state, are there four of our countrymen who understand Greek better than the Queen herself. When she is reading Demosthenes or Æschines, I am very often astonished at seeing her so ably understand, I do not mean, the force of the words, the structure of the sentences, the propriety of the language, the ornaments of oratory, and the harmonious and elegant bearing of the whole discourse; but also, what is of more importance, the feeling and spirit of the speaker, the struggle of the whole debate, the decrees and inclinations of the people, the manners and institutions of every state, and all other matters of this kind. All her own subjects, and very many foreigners, are witnesses to her proficiency in other languages. I was one day present when she replied at the same time to three ambassadors, the Imperial, French, and Swedish, in three languages: Italian to one, French to the other, Latin to the third; easily, without hesitation, clearly, and without being confused, to the various subjects thrown out, as is usual in their discourse. That you may yourself see how elegantly she writes, I send you enclosed in this letter a slip of paper, in which you have the word

"quemadmodum" written in the Queen's own hand. The upper one is mine, the lower the Queen's. Let me know in your next letter whether the sight is pleasant to you and the present an acceptable one.

And thus much respecting our most noble Queen, who is, besides all this, my most munificent mistress, and also very partial to John Sturmius. And should you ever happen to come to England, you will, I think, hear from her own mouth that Roger Ascham has not been a forgetful friend to John Sturmius in the presence of so great a sovereign. This account of our most excellent Queen you will, I believe, read, and I assuredly write it, with the greatest satisfaction to us both. If she would only marry, she would leave no room for higher commendation; and I wish, my Sturmius, that you would call forth all that power which you have derived from the best sources both of wisdom and eloquence, whether of reasoning from Demosthenes, or of diction from Cicero, to persuade her to this step. No cause more honourable can be undertaken by you than this, nor can any greater power of persuasion be desired by me, than that which you possess. We desire her to make choice of whomsoever she pleases; we do not wish other persons to point out any individual for her acceptance, and we are all of us in favour of one of our own countrymen in preference to a stranger. I would have you know these things, in case you should ever feel disposed to consider the subject: for should she but add this single benefit to the number of those she has already conferred upon this country, and which I have just now mentioned, no nation can be more happy than ours. . . .

CHAPTER VI

ELIZABETH AND MARY SWORN FRIENDS

Elizabeth Helps the Huguenots and Hopes to Recover Calais—Plot Against the Spanish Ambassador—Betrayed by his Secretary—Rumours of Elizabeth's Marriage with Dudley—Failure of Proposed Meeting between Mary and Elizabeth—An Exchange of Diamonds—Arthur Pole's Abortive Plot—The Treaty of Hampton Court—Elizabeth's Letter to Mary on the Subject—Her Dangerous Illness—Solemn Protest Regarding Dudley—Mary Stuart's Expedition Against Huntly—Declares Unalterable Friendship for Elizabeth—Knox Denounces Her Amusements—Bothwell Escapes from Edinburgh and is Arrested in England—The English Expedition to France—Fall of Rouen—Elizabeth's Encouragement to Warwick—The Disaster of Dreux—Princess of Condé's Appeal to Elizabeth—Assassination of the Duke of Guise—Parliament Petitions Elizabeth to Settle the Succession Problem—Her Reply—New Laws and the "Thirty-nine Articles."

THE correspondence of the spring of 1562 between England and Scotland is full of the projected meeting between the two Queens which was destined never to take place. All might still have been well but for the massacre of Vassy on March 1, and the cry of the Huguenots for help, which must needs be answered before Mary's claims could be attended to—for was there not also a fair chance of recovering Calais thereby? That was the price of English intervention after the incident of Vassy had set fire to the first French war of religion, the agreement being that in return for helping the Huguenots with men and money England was to hold Havre until Calais was restored. Elizabeth's Council was long divided on the subject, but eventually she succeeded in forcing them into what Professor Pollard has described as perhaps the greatest blunder of her reign. Quadra was told that the Queen was quite furious at the decisive Council meeting, and replied to those who opposed this expedition that "if they were so much afraid that the consequences of failure would fall upon them, she herself would take all the risk, and would sign her name to

it."[1] There were many excuses for Elizabeth's eagerness. She hated the Guises who had started the war; appalling tales reached her of Catholic atrocities elsewhere in France; and Philip, who was known to be helping the Guises, was assuredly practising, according to Throckmorton, "to put his foot in Calais."[2] Froude gives the rest of Throckmorton's letter as follows:

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Froude's "*History of England.*"]

PARIS, *April* 17, 1562.

. . . Your Majesty doth see the present state here which is in such terms as it behoveth you greatly, well to consider and deeply to weigh what may ensue; and whether it be meet in this dangerous and captious time to have any interview this summer betwixt your Majesty and the Queen of Scotland. Already the ambassador of Spain hath within these three days used such language to the Queen-Mother as she may conceive the King his master doth mind to make war to repress the Prince of Condé, if the King her son and she will not—as one that saith he hath such interest in the crown of France by the marriage of his wife, and in respect of the conservation of the Christian religion, as that he will not suffer the same to fall into ruin and danger by heresy and sedition. It may chance that in these garboyls some occasion may be offered as that again you may be brought into possession of Calais, or of some port of consequence of this side; but howsoever things fall out, it standeth your Majesty upon for your own surety and reputation, to be well aware that the Prince of Condé and his followers be not in this realm overthrown. I shall not need to make any long discourse unto your Majesty who is so well advised, but only put you in remembrance what profit, surety, and credit your Majesty hath obtained

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 259.
[2] Foreign Calendar: Elizabeth, IV., p. 609.

[*Photo, Alinari*

CATHERINE DE MEDICI

by maintaining your friends and such as concur with you in religion in the realm of Scotland.

Assuredly although this papistical complot did begin here first to break out, yet the plot thereof was large and intended to be executed and practised as well in your Majesty's realm as Scotland and elsewhere. It may please your Majesty the Papists within these two days at Sens in Normandy have slain and hurt two hundred persons—men and women. Your Majesty may perceive how dangerous it is to suffer Papists that be of great heart and enterprise to lift up their crests so high.

At first Elizabeth tried to mediate, but Sir Henry Sidney's mission to Catherine de' Medici was foredoomed to failure, and Dudley, equally ready to trim his sails to a Catholic or Protestant breeze, assured Condé of his own and the Queen's interest in the Huguenot cause. The new turn of affairs made it clear to Quadra that Spain must now abandon all hope of profiting by a marriage between Dudley and the Queen:

BISHOP QUADRA TO CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *April* 3, 1562.

It is, in my opinion, already too late for his Majesty to favour Robert in his marriage affairs, as I am sure that his Majesty would lose the support of all the Catholics here if it were seen that help were given him without any stipulation for the restoration of religion. It would also greatly offend Robert's enemies, while neither he nor the Queen would be bound to anything. She desires not to act in accord with his Majesty, as will have been seen by her behaviour in this case and all others, and I have already pointed out that the letter they requested was only to smooth over all difficulties here and carry out their intentions. She thinks she can marry, or unmarry even if she likes, now that she has the support of the heretics here and in France,

and knows the trouble our affairs are in in the Netherlands. I am certain that this Queen has thought and studied nothing else since the King sailed for Spain but how to oust him from the Netherlands, and she believes the best way to effect this is to embroil them over there on religious questions, as I wrote months ago. God grant that there may be none there (in Flanders) who wish the same. As to the French, heretics and others, there is no doubt about their desires in the matter, and the Germans will certainly help to the same end. To this may be added that they can only be certain of the Queen of Scots and the Catholic faction in this way. Her (Elizabeth's) natural inclination is inimical to the King, and always has been so. She believes at once anything she is told to our prejudice, and all my attention and flattery, even in Robert's affair which she has so much at heart, have been powerless to bring her round to his Majesty's side, although I have certainly spared nothing, and cannot reproach myself with omitting anything in this matter which tended to the service of God and the King.

Quadra was never so badly treated as at this period. His letters were intercepted; his Secretary, named Borghese, betrayed all his secrets to the Queen's ministers; and he was openly charged, among other things, with turning his residence, Durham House, into a hotbed of Catholic and Irish conspiracy against the crown. In spite of his cloth the Bishop would probably have killed his betrayer rather than that this should have happened:

BISHOP QUADRA TO THE DUKE OF ALBA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. II.]

LONDON, *June* 6, 1562.

I am greatly troubled about a disaster that has happened in my house. It is a case of a servant of mine who has been bribed by the Queen's ministers and has divulged a host of things prejudicial to private persons and, even in public matters, has laid

more on to me than he could truthfully do. It has been impossible to prevent this inconvenience, as the promises they have made him have been so great, and his wickedness so reckless, that nothing would make him turn back, and, as for punishing him by taking his life by extraordinary means, apart from its being so foreign to my profession, I thought it would probably give rise to greater scandal, and enable them to say more than they can say now. I could satisfy the Queen about it if she would hear me, but, being a woman and ill-informed by the leading men in her Council, she is so shocked that I do not know to what lengths she will go. I am trying to get her to expel this bad man from the country, as she ought to do in fulfilment of the treaties, but she will not hear of it, which distresses me more than anything else, as it is against the honour and dignity of his Majesty, besides being an intolerable insult to me. I send this courier to ask his Majesty for redress, and I beg your Excellency, in view of what I write to the King, to consider whether the case is one in which your Excellency can favour me. My private honour being impugned, as well as his Majesty's service, I verily hope that your Excellency will not leave me unprotected, and will endeavour that this unavoidable accident shall not injure me in what is of most importance, namely, his Majesty's gracious favour. The affair has made so much noise, and aroused suspicion in so many breasts, that it would not be surprising if the treason of this man were to do more harm to the Queen than to me, for my residence here is so distasteful to the heretics that they have done nothing for the last year but try to get me out of the country, and if his Majesty does not intend to assist in these affairs the best way would be to satisfy them. I again beg of your Excellency not to abandon me in this business, or to allow this great insult offered to me by the Queen to go unredressed.

There was nothing for it but to face the situation boldly, and Quadra was never afraid to do that. It was all in his favour

that the secrets revealed by his Secretary would implicate not only a number of the Queen's noblemen, but also the Queen and Dudley themselves in regard to their secret dealings with Spain in the matter of matrimony:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *June* 20, 1562.

Since writing to your Majesty on the 6th instant by Gamboa the courier, I have spoken with the Queen, who tried to hide her anger with me, but could not refrain from telling me that she was going to complain to your Majesty of me for the bad offices I did in always writing ill of her and her affairs. I told her that as she had my servant in her house, and he had revealed more than it was meet for her to know, and as against all precedent she thought fit to call me to account for my communications to your Majesty, I thought it was time that I also should speak plainly and tell her that my dispatches to your Majesty, good or bad, had all been consequent on her own proceedings, and I had treated her matters with your Majesty in accordance therewith in all honesty and straightforwardness. If this did not meet with her approval, it was at all events in accord with my duty to God and your Majesty, and satisfactory to my own conscience. She tried to convince me by citing particular cases, and at last said I could not deny that I had sent Dr. Turner to Flanders to try to get her turned off the throne and substitute others (meaning Lady Margaret). I told her I had sent the Doctor to arrange my private affairs, and took the opportunity of his going (he being a person well informed of events here) to tell him to give an account of the Duchess of Parma of the state of the French negotiations and designs in this country, which might be directed to securing the adherence of Lady Margaret to their side by taking her son and marrying him in France, by which means, even if the Queen of Scotland, who was then in bad health, were

to die, they would still have some claim to a footing in this country. These things were of such a character that I could not avoid informing your Majesty of them and warning the Duchess, seeing that war was being prepared between the King of France and her (the Queen), he having again taken the title and arms of King of England, and publicly announced his intention to invade England, as I was assured by the Bishop of Valence and M. de Randau when they returned from Scotland.

I said the fault of my not communicating these things to her at the time was entirely her own, as she would never allow M. de Glajon or myself to have anything to do with her affairs, or exert your Majesty's interest in her favour, but actually told Glajon and me that your Majesty was her secret enemy. As I saw, however, that she excluded me from her counsels, and that the peace she had concluded with France was only a make believe, and war with this country would lead to the breaking of the peace elsewhere, I had only done my duty in obtaining all information as to the pretensions and claims of the various possible heirs to the crown, and their respective characters, designs, and connexion, to enable your Majesty to adopt such steps as might be necessary. This was during the life of King Francis, when war was to be feared, but since his death I had written about nothing but her marriage with Lord Robert (which if it had not yet been effected was from no lack of good offices on my part) and the question of the Nuncio and her taking part in the *Concilio*, and she knew well that these two matters had been dealt with in a sincere desire to serve her, and also the way I had been treated in return. She tried to find excuses for what I said, but in vain, and at last I said that as I desired to satisfy and convince her I should accept it as a favour if she would have me informed of the things my servant had said to my detriment, in order that I might tell her frankly the truth, but that if she did not want to be satisfied, it would suffice for me to give an

account of my actions to your Majesty, and as for the rest, she could do as she thought fit. She answered that she would send someone who could tell me, and subsequently the Lord Chamberlain and Dr. Wotton came to my house, who told me verbally what is contained in the statement I send herewith, and I answered to the effect of the copy also enclosed, reserving to myself however the right of replying at length to the Queen when I should see her.

I have thought well to advise your Majesty in detail of all this in order that an answer may be given to the Queen's ambassador when he speaks on the subject. The most important part of the affair is the information the servant has given them about Turner's report, which remained in the possession of this man after Turner died in Brussels at a lodging occupied by both of them. Although I got back the original in the doctor's own handwriting, this man must have kept a copy by means of which, and a few drafts he has stolen from time to time since he has been here, he is now able to do all this harm. The evil will greatly increase after the summer, because just now they are afraid of a rising, and of the aid your Majesty might extend to the Catholics, and do not dare to arrest those whose names are mentioned in the report. I am informed that the Councillors are much annoyed that the Queen revealed to me the secret of this report, as they think I may warn those whose names are mentioned in it, and this is the reason that the Chamberlain and Wotton did not mention it to me. . . . With respect to expelling the servant from the country they tell me the Queen will not fail to do what is right, so I have thought well not to refer to it again until I know your Majesty's wishes. The Queen's action is overbearing and unprecedented in this case, and I am told moreover, that she had promised this bad man an income of 400 ducats and a good marriage as the payment for his treason, although she denies it.

The Lord Chamberlain and Dr. Wotton charged Quadra, among other things, with writing to Philip that the Queen had been secretly married to Lord Robert at the Earl of Pembroke's house. To this Quadra replied :

What I wrote to his Majesty about this was the same as I said to the Queen, which was that people were saying all over the town that the wedding had taken place. This at the time neither surprised nor annoyed her, and she said it was not only people outside of the palace who had thought such a thing, as, on her return that afternoon from the Earl's house, her own ladies in waiting when she entered her chamber with Lord Robert asked whether they were to kiss his hand as well as hers ; to which she had told them no, and that they were not to believe what people said. In addition to this Robert told me two or three days after that the Queen had promised to marry him, but not this year. She had told me also, with an oath, that if she had to marry an Englishman, it should only be Robert. I had refrained from communicating these details to his Majesty for the sake of decorum, and I do not think, considering what others say of the Queen, that I should be doing her any injury in writing to his Majesty that she was married, which in fact I never have written, and I am sorry I cannot do so with truth.[1]

By which the Bishop was probably hinting at the repeated reports that Elizabeth had already had children by Dudley. The storm temporarily blew over, but the clouds which were gathering so thickly over divided France were now at bursting point, and all hope of the meeting with Mary—for the time being at all events—was at an end. It had been provisionally fixed for some date in August or September, but on July 15 Elizabeth wrote postponing it until the following summer, " the lets and hindrances from foreign parts being beyond our power to remedy." Both Queens, however, were at considerable pains to assure each other that whatever happened in France should make no difference to their own sisterly love. All Mary's political plans had revolved round

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 248.

this promised meeting. The mysterious affair in which the now demented Arran accused Bothwell of plotting to carry her off by force from Holyrood, and handing her over to Arran himself at Dunbarton Castle, must have raised hideous doubts in her mind as to her personal safety, and the loyalty of her nobles. She had sent Lethington to Elizabeth in June in the hope of arranging the interview, and Elizabeth had given her consent, but Mary realised, as Randolph told Cecil in one of his letters, that the French troubles would probably upset their plans. Whether the meeting took place or not, however, she professed to be overjoyed at the letter which Elizabeth herself sent her at this time:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

EDINBURGH, *June* 17, 1562.

I have received your letters and the packet from Lethington to his sovereign. The long space between their date and delivery to me—eight days—made me think the posts do not their duties, and many times I have marked the like. Being delivered me at Edinburgh at the end of my dinner, upon Sunday, I gave them myself to the Queen at her rising from table after supper at Dunfermline. In the packet from Lethington there was a letter to her from the Queen's Majesty, which first she read, and then put it into her bosom next unto her skin, which I did not so well mark then as after. After she had read Lethington's letter, containing his whole discourse with the Queen and her Council, she declared to Lord Mar and me the effect of both these letters, and seemed so well contented that neither of us needed to add anything more. As in her letter from Lethington there was no news of France, she desired to know what we heard, wherein we had as little to say as she, and showed both our letters. Then she entered with me privately whether the interview was like to take effect this year or not? Whereto I said that Lethington more than I could give judgment on, being so far from

the chief place of resolution. The chief impediments were (1) the shortness of time, and (2) the troubles in France—I knew no others.

With this she seemed somewhat satisfied; "And above other things," said she, "I desire to see my good sister, and next that we may live like good sisters together, as your mistress hath written unto me that we shall. I purpose," said she, "to send La Croc to your mistress, and then farther about some business of mine own. I have here," said she, "a ring with a diamond fashioned like a heart. I know nothing that can resemble my good will unto my good sister better than that—my meaning shall be expressed in writing in a few verses, which you shall see before you depart, and whatsoever lacketh therein, let it be reported by your writing. I will," said she, "witness the same with my own hand, and call God to record that I speak it as I think it with my heart, that I do as much rejoice of that continuance of friendship that I trust shall be between the Queen my sister and me, and the people of both realms, as ever I did in anything in my life." With these words she took out of her bosom the Queen's Majesty's letter, and after reading a line or two, put it in the same place, saying, "If I could put it nearer my heart, I would." "Now," said she, "I have somewhat to do more than I had, for now either I must alter my letter that I purposed to send by La Croc, or else I must write anew." Somewhat she also said of what Lethington had written of the difficulty found by divers of the Queen's Majesty's Council—allowing it well, considering their duties and place.

Next morning she delivered me a letter from Lord Hume, advertising that my sovereign had her ships ready with 8,000 men, it was thought to support the Protestants, except under that colour there was any other pretence. When her Grace saw me laugh at that: "Well" said she, "you know that my Lord Hume hath a castle to keep—I will not be very hasty to believe, nor I doubt no such danger as he meaneth,

and I trust that for the matters of France, they will be accorded, so that your mistress shall not need to be at any such charge." There are many such tales, and no day without some news to make her doubt the amity, or of tumults among themselves, or some mischief or other. But she is now so well accustomed to the like, that she promises to give no hasty credit to them. She required me to stay my writings one day, that La Croc might deliver them, lest I think some news of her present might reach my sovereign's ears before arrival of the bearer.

According to Dr. Jewel it was the Duke of Guise himself who was responsible for Mary's enthusiastic advances at this period:

BISHOP JEWEL TO HENRY BULLINGER.

["*Zurich Papers*." First Series.]

SALISBURY, *August* 14, 1562.

. . . As the Duke of Guise, by holding out I know not what hope of settling the affairs of religion, and receiving the confession of Augsburg, has prevented the princes of Germany from intermeddling in this war; so he has endeavoured by all possible means to persuade our Queen that the present contest in France is not about matters of religion, but that there is an evident conspiracy against the government; that it is the cause of the King, whom, as being herself also invested with royal authority, she ought not to oppose. Meanwhile he has caused his niece, the Queen of Scotland, to court the favour and friendship of our Queen, and send her presents, and make I know not what promises;—that she purposes this summer to come upon a visit of honour into England, and to establish a perpetual treaty of friendship, never to be dissolved. She has sent her a diamond of great value, a most beautiful gem, set in gold, and accompanied by some beautiful and elegant verses.[1] What next? They seem to suppose

[1] Written by Buchanan, then in Mary's Court. Elizabeth in return sent Mary the rock-shaped diamond which the Scottish Queen

that by festive interviews, and hunting matches, and flatteries, our attention will easily be diverted from the noise of war, and lulled to sleep. In the mean time our Queen, when she saw through the whole affair, and perceived what was doing, (and this was not a matter of much difficulty,) changed her purpose respecting her progress, gradually withdrew her alliance with the Guises, and not obscurely intimated her determination to assist the Prince of Condé. The Duke of Guise was very angry at this interruption to his designs, and received our ambassador with reproaches; and declared by a public proclamation that the Queen of England was planning intrigues against the Kingdom of France, and that she alone had occasioned those disorders. Our Queen could not bear this charge with patience, nor indeed ought she to have done. She forthwith began to act with openness, as I hear, to recall her ambassador, to enlist troops, to dismast all vessels, both English and foreign, from whatever place, or wherever they might be, to prevent their getting away, and giving information of what she was doing. Oh! if she had acted in this manner some time since, or if the German princes would even now follow her example, the whole business would have been settled much more easily, and with much less waste of christian blood. And indeed the Queen has now sent into Germany, to the princes: and there is now at Court an ambassador from Guise, with new blandishments, as I suppose, to delay and hinder us. But it will not, I think, be so easy a matter to deceive people with their eyes open.

The affairs of Scotland, as to religion, are tolerably quiet. The Queen alone retains her Mass, contrary to the general wish. There has been here, throughout the whole of this present year, an incredibly bad season both as to the weather and the state of the atmo-

afterwards regarded as sufficient warrant for her safety when she fled to England, complaining subsequently how bitterly she was deceived therein.

sphere. Neither sun, nor moon, nor winter, nor spring, nor summer nor autumn, have performed their appropriate offices. It has rained so abundantly, and almost without intermission, as if the heavens could hardly do any thing else. Out of this contagion monstrous births have taken place ; infants with hideously deformed bodies, some being quite without heads, some with heads belonging to other creatures ; some born without arms, legs, or shin-bones ; some were mere skeletons, entirely without flesh, just as the image of death is generally represented. Similar births have been produced in abundance from swine, mares, cows, and domestic fowls. The harvest is now coming on, rather scanty indeed, but yet so as we have not much to complain of.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

Such a season of phenomenal births could scarcely be expected to pass without at least one still-born plot against the English crown. The sorry hero of this abortive affair was Arthur Pole, eldest son of that Sir Geoffrey Pole who, under Henry VIII. was tortured into the confession which sent his brother, Sir Henry Pole, and others, to the block. Young Pole had been encouraged by the Catholics to pose as a claimant of the crown because of a Protestant scheme to set up as Elizabeth's successor his own cousin, Lord Huntingdon, who, as Quadra told King Philip, was farther removed from the throne :

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar :* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *September* 15, 1562.

Arthur Pole, nephew of the late Cardinal Pole, son of his brother Geoffrey, is determined to leave England on pretext of religion, but the truth is that he is going to try his fortune, and pretend to the Crown, with the help of the Catholics here. His claim is not worth much, but his indignation has been aroused, and ambition encouraged, at seeing that the heretics want

to make the Earl of Huntingdon king, who is the son of a niece of the Cardinal, and, in fact, if the crown came to the descendants of the Duke of Clarence, which they call the house of the White Rose, he (Pole) would be one degree nearer than Huntingdon, as will be seen by the genealogical tree I sent your Majesty last year. This lad is turbulent and not very prudent, but spirited and daring. They say he is poor, and his relations are poorer still, but the Earl of Northumberland has given him a sister of his in marriage, and Lord Loughborough keeps him in his house and treats him as his son, so help will not be lacking for the enterprise. He sent word to me that if your Majesty would entertain and employ him he would place himself at your Majesty's disposal with a dozen young gentlemen of high position, and he asked me for a letter to Madame, with assistance for him to leave the country. I excused myself from granting either request as well as I could without offending him, and he then went to the French ambassador and offered himself for the present war. The ambassador also excused himself, and advised him not to go to France by telling him that the Guises, through their connexion with the Queen of Scotland, would not like to see another pretender to the English throne. I think, nevertheless, that he will leave here. The French ambassador had some conversation with me about it, and unthinkingly asked for information about the persons interested. It is possible the French may receive Pole to further embarrass the Queen. He pretends to be able to do a great deal, and really if he obtained support he could be very troublesome.

Notwithstanding the French ambassador's advice young Pole decided to volunteer for service in the French war against the Huguenots, in the hope of winning the support of the Guises against Elizabeth. The plot was discovered just as he was on the point of embarking for France with his brother Walter and a few followers. They were all

thrown into the Tower. It was then confessed that their scheme was to land a force in Wales and there proclaim Mary Stuart as rightful Queen of England, Arthur Pole being ready to make over to her such claims as he possessed on the understanding that she would revive in his favour the dukedom of Clarence. Their defence was "that they meant it not before the sovereign Queen should die, which, as they were persuaded by one Prestall, should be about March" (see p. 265). Neither of the Poles was executed, but, kept in the Tower, both died there some eight years later.

On September 20 the Huguenots concluded with Elizabeth, through the Vidame de Chartres, the Treaty of Hampton Court, by which England was bound to lend them assistance both with men and money, and to hold the town and port of Havre (called Newhaven by the English) with an English garrison until the restoration of Calais. The chief command of the expedition was placed in the hands of Dudley's elder brother, whom the Queen had created Earl of Warwick in December of the preceding year, thus restoring to the family the title which had ceased with the attainting of their father, the Duke of Northumberland. The real object of the expedition is not far to seek in Cecil's letter to his now unknown correspondent:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO ——.

[Wright's "*Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

October 11, 1562.

I know very well that your abode there, without oftener advertisements from hence, must needs be grievous unto you, and yet the only fault hereof is these varieties of the affairs in France, which have so turned both ourselves and our Councils here into so many shapes from time to time, as I could never, until this present, make any certain account what I might write to you hereof.

True it is that for my own part I have used all the advice I could to procure some quiet end in these French matters, because I have seen from the beginning that the process of them one way ended would be a beginning of our troubles, and as it may appear

unto you, when the Guisians would give no ear, but follow their intents by force. It hath been seen meet to the Queen's Majesty, by the advice of all her Council, to set in her foot, and to preserve the miserable state of her poor neighbours in Normandy with a buckler of her defence.

The matter hath been long in consultation, and divers times broken off, with hope of some good end in France; but now finding that desperate, the Queen's Majesty hath determined to send over the Earl of Warwick, with six thousand footmen, three thousand with himself to Newhaven [Havre], and the other three to Dieppe. It is meant to keep Newhaven in the Queen's possession until Calais be either delivered, or better assurance of it than presently we have. And herein both justice and policy shall maintain our actions: for as for Calais, because the French have broken the treaty with us, we may be bold presently to demand it, and if, thereof arguments shall arise, I think the Queen's Majesty need not be ashamed to utter her right to Newhaven as parcel of the Duchy of Normandy.

Nothing is meant here on our part to make any invasion, but to enter quietly into these places, which by law of arms we may, considering we take none of them by force; and as long as the French shall give no other cause, it is meant to use no war towards them, but to allow of mutual traffic betwixt both the nations.

By the Queen's Majesty's letter to that King, and her private unto you, and by the declaration which also shall be sent you with another writing delivered by her Majesty to her Lieutenant now sent into Normandy, you shall well understand the causes of her Majesty's doings, as the same may be avowed to the world; and of all these two principally,—one to stay the Duke of Guise, as our sworn enemy, from his singular superiority, the other to procure us the restitution of Calais, or something to countervail it.

The last month Mr. Henry Knollys was sent into Germany with commission to join with Christopher Mundt, and to solicit the Protestant princes both to aid the Prince of Condé, and to consider how the common cause of religion might be defended against any common confederacy of the enemy. . . .

The matters betwixt the Queen's Majesty, and the Queen of Scots, rests in these terms. The Queen's Majesty was contented in June to accord upon an interview in August with the Queen of Scots, coming to Nottingham, so as the matters in France look good; and before the last of July, and because at that time the troubles grew to be more desperate, the interview was disappointed, and so excuse was sent to the Queen of Scots by Sir Henry Sidney, with offer to meet at York betwixt midsummer and the end of August, which is like to succeed as the planets of France shall be disposed. And nevertheless I find the Queen's Majesty here so well disposed to keep amity with the Queen of Scots, as surely the default of their two agreements shall not grow from the Queen here.

Her Majesty writeth to her at this present, and maketh such distinction in her proceedings, as on the one part she maketh her well assured of her love towards her, and on the other she noteth plainly and frankly her offence towards the Guises, which she so tempereth by her letters of her own device to the Queen of Scots, as I think she shall have cause to think well of the Queen's Majesty, and to lament her uncle's foolish proceedings. The said Queen of Scots, upon the disappointment of the interview, made her progress into the north parts of Scotland, where she hath, as I hear, ministered both justice, and lost not by her journey, as you know the Queen her mother was wont to do upon the frontiers. The intelligence betwixt this and that realm remaineth in the same good terms as heretofore it did, and so is like to continue, as I think, until the French seed be sown to make division. . . .

It is amusing to compare Cecil's straightforward tone with the florid style in which Elizabeth sought to convince Mary of the righteousness of his decision to help the Huguenots—a word, apparently, which she had never heard before:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

October 15, 1562.

Very dear Sister,

If it were not impossible that one should forget her own heart, I should fear you thought I had drunk the water of Lethe; but I assure you that, besides there is no such river in England, you are the chief cause of the fault. For the long delay in the arrival of your messenger prevented my writing as formerly. And hearing you were on such long pilgrimage, I thought it would hinder you; as another occasion restrained me from writing of the tragedies every week brought to my ears. On my honour I assure you that until the ravens croaked, I kept the stopped ears of Ulysses. But when I saw that my councillors and subjects thought me too much beguiled, my intellect gone astray and mind improvident, I awoke from slumber, thinking myself unworthy to govern my kingdom if I could not be Prometheus in my affairs, as I have known Epimetheus. But remembering how it greatly touched your's, my God! how I felt at heart—not for them, you know that well—but for that one to whom I wish all the good she can desire, greatly fearing lest you think these old sparks may fan this new fire. Notwithstanding, when I saw that necessity had no law, and that we must guard our houses from spoil, when our neighbours are burning, I had no suspicion but you would lift the veil from nature and look at the bare course of reason. For what hope can be in strangers when cruelty so abounds in a family? I pass over in silence the murders on land, the burials in water, and say nothing of men cut in

pieces; but pregnant women strangled, with the sighs of infants at their mothers' breasts, pierce me through.[1] What drug of rhubarb can purge the bile which these tyrannies engender? In these broils my own subjects have lost their goods, ships and lives, and received a new name, formerly unknown to me, *c'est Hugenots*.[2] The faults charged on the poor soldiers, will remain on the wicked chiefs, who though daily admonished, instead of correcting one evil, do twenty! My letters from the King and Queen Mother show me he is only King in title. I cannot suffer such evils, as a good neighbour. You shall have no occasion to charge me with deceit, having never promised what I will not perform. If I send my people to these foreign ports, I have no other end than to help the King. Think of me as honourably as my good will to you merits; and though I know what finesse has been and will be used, to draw you from the affection I am assured you bear me, yet I trust so much in this heart which I preserve[3]—that sooner shall rivers surmount their channels than it shall alter its intention. My hot fever prevents me writing more.

The fever was far more serious than Elizabeth realised. On the very night after this letter was written Cecil was hurriedly sent for and told by the physician to prepare for the worst. It is easy to imagine the consternation which ensued when it was known that in the midst of all these trials and anxieties Elizabeth had developed small-pox and was like to die with the problem of the succession still unsolved. Quadra paints a vivid picture of the situation, and also bears witness to the Queen's solemn protest on her bed of sickness—obviously of far greater weight at such

[1] I have ventured to correct this sentence in the Scottish Calendar, which runs: "Pregnant women strangled, with the sighs of infants at mothers' breasts, do not stir me." Froude's translation from the original French agrees with the above.

[2] The origin of the word has been variously traced. By some it is from Hugues, a Genevese Calvinist, the French reformers being Calvinists.

[3] The heart set with diamonds which Mary Stuart had sent Elizabeth (see pp. 237-8).

a time than ordinarily—that "although she loved Lord Robert Dudley dearly, as God was her witness, nothing improper had ever passed between them":

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

October 25, 1562.

. . . The Queen was at Hampton Court on the 10th instant, and feeling unwell thought she would like a bath. The illness turned out to be small-pox, and the cold caught by leaving her bath for the air resulted in so violent a fever that on the seventh day she was given up, but during that night the eruption came out and she is now better. There was great excitement that day in the palace, and if her improvement had not come soon some hidden thoughts would have become manifest. The Council discussed the succession twice, and I am told there were three different opinions. Some wished King Henry's will to be followed and Lady Catherine declared heiress. Others who found flaws in the will were in favour of the Earl of Huntingdon. Lord Robert, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Duke of Norfolk with others of the lower rank were in favour of this. The most moderate and sensible tried to dissuade the others from being in such a furious hurry, and said they would divide and ruin the country unless they summoned jurists of the greatest standing in the country to examine the rights of the claimants, and in accordance with this decision the Council should then unanimously take such steps as might be best in the interests of justice and the good of the country. The Marquis Treasurer (Winchester) was of this opinion with others, although only a few, as the rest understood that this was a move in favour of the Catholic religion, nearly all the jurists who would be called upon to decide being of that faith, and this delay would give time for your Majesty to take steps in the matter, which is the thing these heretics

fear most, for upon your Majesty's absence they found all their hopes.

During this discussion the Queen improved, and on recovering from the crisis which had kept her unconscious, and speechless for two hours, the first thing she said was to beg her Council to make Lord Robert protector of the kingdom with a title and an income of 20,000*l.* Everything she asked was promised, but will not be fulfilled. On the 20th he and the Duke of Norfolk were admitted to the Council, and it is said he will shortly be made Earl of la Marche (?).

The Queen protested at the time that although she loved and had always loved Lord Robert dearly, as God was her witness, nothing improper had ever passed between them. She ordered a groom of the Chamber, called Tamworth, who sleeps in Lord Robert's room, to be granted an income of 500*l.* a year. She also especially recommended her cousin Hunsdon to the Council, as well as her household generally. This demonstration has offended many people. The various grants were made in the fear that another crisis might prove fatal, but as she is well again they all fall to the ground, except Lord Robert's favour, which always continues, and, as the Queen will not be visible for some time owing to the disfigurement of her face, the audiences will be all to him alone, except a few to the Duke (of Norfolk) whom they have forced into it.

I think French affairs will be dealt with by Lord Robert in the way he has always advocated, namely, for peace and alliance. Your Majesty's affairs will be referred to the Duke, as they know he is friendly with me. The Queen was unable to see me for the purpose of receiving your Majesty's protest against the French war, but I had an interview with the Council, where I was received with some alterations and innovations, in the usual course, that were full of malicious intent. I was introduced by the Bishop of Rochester, and having read to them the

document from your Majesty, Cecil spoke for the rest, and divided his answer under three heads. First, that the Queen, considering the Guises her enemies, and their excessive authority in France dangerous, was therefore determined to resist it. Secondly, that the King of France and his mother, being oppressed and almost prisoners, she was resolved to deliver them.

Thirdly, that as her co-religionists in France were persecuted and ill-treated she had decided to aid them. I replied that I had nothing to say about the Guises, and as to the second point I could only say that it was extraordinary, false, and absurd. Everybody knew that it was not true, and it was nothing less than an insult to his Majesty (the King of Spain,) who, as they well knew, considered the present government of France a good and a just one, to call its acts tyranny and captivity. The King my master, I said would, if necessary, use all his strength to protect his brother-in-law. As to the last point about aiding their co-religionists, I said such a thing was so unreasonable and scandalous that I did not believe any one failed to see it, and to recognise how badly they were acting in picking a quarrel in this way, which was only setting all Christendom by the ears.

I pointed out, too, how improper it was for the Queen to promote religious changes in other countries, and how much more seemly it was for a Christian ruler to protect the ancient and true Catholic faith established by the law, and punish all attempts to overturn it.

Cecil thereupon began to treat the matter excitedly, confounding and mixing the various points, and made much of the Guises' share in the loss of Calais, of which he said they had robbed this country through your Majesty. I said Calais had been lost by those who defended it not knowing how to hold it, and not owing to any relationship of the French with your Majesty, as the Secretary inferred, and I thought it

was very wrong that matters so unfit for open discussion should be written about in pamphlets, and that all this was only to make your Majesty unpopular.

The Secretary said that was so, as there was no person who did not know that that war had been made only to please your Majesty, and to the great danger of this country. I replied that members who were in the Council at the time of that war could speak of that best, as they were present now, when Pembroke, Arundel, and Clinton said that your Majesty and the Queen alone had wished for the war, and not a single member of the Council approved of it, followed by other angry and foolish expressions.

While Elizabeth was sickening for the small-pox, Mary was so far siding with her Protestant lords as to suppress her chief Catholic noble, the Earl of Huntly, who died in arms against her at Corrichie, falling suddenly, as Randolph informed Cecil, "without blow or stroke, stark dead." Whether Mary had any ulterior motive in marching against Huntly—whether, as Knox believed, she was acting as an accomplice of Huntly in some deep-laid scheme which had begun with an end in view very different from Huntly's defeat and death, or was led by Lord James for his own aggrandizement, will never be known for certain, and the historians must be left to differ on the subject. Randolph, who accompanied her, and as Andrew Lang says, "a man not easily deceived," was convinced that Mary had become hostile to Huntly, and was intent on punishing him. His hot-headed son, John Gordon, whose unruly love for her was the cause of his undoing, was made prisoner, and afterwards executed at Aberdeen. It was to silence the rumours that she had encouraged him in his love that, at her brother's request, she witnessed his clumsy execution. Small wonder that she fainted at the hideous spectacle. Randolph found her in first-rate spirits, however, after declaring at the trial "how detestable a part Huntly thought to have used against her":

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

ABERDEEN, *November* 2, 1562.

On Thursday at her Grace's supper, I showed myself, and, immediately, as I entered the chamber where she sat: "Well sir," said she, "I know that you have writings for me from my good sister; how will you answer unto your mistress that have kept them from me so long?" I excused myself as loath to trouble her when occupied. "You might know," said she, "that nothing importeth me more than to hear from her, especially in these times—you know the occasion why." I answered I was not ignorant, and that delay could not hinder it. Her Grace spoke this that those about might gather that good will between my mistress and her Grace is so great as to be disadvantageous to any wishing evil to either. "Let me see," said she, "what you have for me." I said I had a great packet, too much for her to read before supper. "Let me but have a sight of it, and I will end my supper," said she. When I presented only a little letter; "What," said she, "if it be no more than this, I will defer it no longer; it will help to digest my supper; but," said she, "this is not my sister's own hand." I said whosoever wrote the superscription, the letter was her own handwriting. She guessed incontinently the superscription was your's, and on opening the letter, said she knew the hand well enough. She read the whole incontinently, her countenance being before prepared, that whatsoever was contained in it no alteration should be found in her in the reading. After she had done, she passed the rest of supper in mirth, as at the beginning. Then she said—"Now Mr. Randolph I trust we shall the next year travel as far south as we have done north, with as much ease and more pleasure than we have had of this journey." I answered it would be much better, for the good success she had in that enterprise, and assured quiet at home, also a pleasant journey abroad, seeing nothing was intended but to

the honour of God and weal of both countries, with my mistress's good will, and, I doubted not, her grace's. "There will be now," said she, "some better willing to go this year than was the last." She meant I suppose the Duke, who was confederate with the Earl against that purpose. After supper she entered her chamber, and called me aside, and said in this sort: "Mr. Randolph, is my sister sick?" I showed her by my Lord Robert's and your letters, that she had the small-pox, which was very noisome unto her Majesty. She said it was a hot fever, and showed me the last line of my mistress's letter. When I resolved her of the truth, she said she was glad it was no worse, for though the disease were cumbersome, yet the danger was not great if good attendance were given to her Majesty.

"But now," said she, "to other purpose; we shall talk of this more hereafter. Your mistress, my sister, writeth unto me a long letter, of the which I take pleasure, though the matter be such as I am sorry for the occasion. She declareth the intention why she sendeth presently men into France, and her good will towards the French king, my good brother, and his subjects, whom she aliegeth to be unjustly done unto by such as have at their own hand taken upon much more than became true subjects to their sovereign; whereby the whole realm of France is disquieted, and her own state in danger, if such have the upper hand that have been the occasion of all these troubles; as though there were in time as much intended against her Majesty as is now in hand and practice against other. Wherefore she would that I should lay aside all affection, and judge of her doings with a simple eye of reason, that I might be better able to judge of the cause with indifference, when all other motions were set apart. "Well," said she, "howsoever the matter be, God knoweth my intention and mind I bear to my uncles, how I favour their doings; and what I think of my good sister your mistress in this matter. God knoweth how indifferent

I am to them both, but what I doubt may be the success of their enterprises. I will be plain with you, that I think the one doth nothing but by commandment, and as by duty he is bound, and that the other might have as well provided for herself as to have entered into a new combination in the time of a young prince, whereof how good soever her meaning be, the worst will be always spoken and thought. I do rather therefore fear the success and dangers that may issue, than that I think there is any private malice in your mistress towards any man there. And yet I think not so evil of my uncles, but I must say this in their defence, that I believe they have no other purpose with them than that which ought to be in true subjects to their prince, and that they do nothing but that which is their sovereign's pleasure, and so to be judged of him how long soever he live. As I heartily wish them well, and by nature am bound so to do: so would I be loath to condemn all other that are not of my mind, or to mislike your mistress's doings so much, that in respect of any of my uncles' doings there, I would break friendship or give over kindness, seeing we are so far entered in amity the one with the other. So may you report of me, and you yourself may be judge of my mind, that know my doings. As she requireth me to weigh the matter with reason, so doubt I not but she will find it reasonable that I continue in love with them both, as by nature I am bound unto them both, and for their hearty kindness towards me do love them equally; and so long as the action is common to more as well as it is to my uncles, I doubt no more of her evil will towards them, than I do to other that have travailed in this case as far as they!"

Huntly's death was a great blow to the waning strength of the Catholics in Scotland, and Mary depended more and more upon her Protestant leaders. She still found in Knox, however, an implacable foe, who construed all her light-heartedness, and the love of gaiety which had grown with

her life at the Court of France, as devil's handiwork, and raved because she refused to forsake the Mass. Yet Mary appeared to be in excellent spirits after her return from this exciting expedition to the North, where her only regret was, as Randolph says, "that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk on the causeway with a jack and knapsack, a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword":[1]

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

EDINBURGH, *December*, 1562.

Mr. Knox has often told me he is to blame for not writing to your honour of long time, and lately required me to convey a letter to you. I know his good zeal and affection to our nation, and his great travail and care to unite the hearts of the princes and people in perpetual love and kindness. I know that he mistrusts more in his own sovereign's part than he does of ours. "He hath no hope" to use his own terms "that she will ever come to God, or do good in the commonwealth"; he is so full of mistrust in all her doings, words, and sayings, as though he were either of God's privy counsel, that knew how he had determined of her from the beginning, or that he knew the secrets of her heart so well that neither she did "or could have for ever one good thought of God or of His true religion!" Of these matters we commune oft. I yield as much as in conscience I may unto him, though we in some things differ in judgment. His fear is that new strangers be brought into this realm. I fear and doubt the same, yet see no likelihood, nor can give any reason why, more than he. Whom she shall marry I cannot think, nor hear of none that go about her. Those that talk with me of Spain, can never make it sink into my head; for the Swede, she says herself she will not, and the others farther off are like to take great pains for little profit! So that by marriage I see not what number shall come to possess this realm again as before, or able to make

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 651.

party against so many confirmed Protestants as are now here. If the Guises be victorious in France, the matter is more to be doubted, and that we fear most; but God I trust hath stirred up such a party against him, that that shall pass his power, and no less befall him than in the end God sendeth unto all such blood-thirsty tyrants as he is!

As Mr. Knox hath opined unto your Honour his fear, so am I bold also to let your Honour know my opinion, both what cause he hath not so deeply to fear, nor so far to mistrust in the goodness of God, but that this woman may in time be called to the knowledge of His truth, or at the least that she have not that force to suppress His Evangelist here, or to break that amity and concord that is so well begun, and I trust shall take such progress that His glory may be known, and the posterity of both the realms rejoice for ever, and give Him thanks for the workers of the same. On Sunday last he inveighed sore against the Queen dancing and little exercise of herself in virtue or godliness. The report being brought to her ears yesterday she sent for him, and talked long time with him. Little liking there was between them of the one or the other, yet did they so depart as no offence or slander did rise thereupon. She willed him to speak his conscience, as he would answer before God, as she would also in her doings.

It was about this time that Bothwell, who had escaped from prison after his arrest—to answer Arran's unsupported charge of conspiracy to carry off the Queen to Dumbarton—was arrested in England. The Duke of Châtelherault had himself begged Mary not to make Bothwell the victim of the wild charges of his demented son, but the Earl was kept imprisoned at Edinburgh while Mary was making her expedition to the North. It was during her absence that he had burst the bars of his prison windows and escaped down the castle rock during the night of August 28th by means of a rope. The downfall of the Earl of Huntly and the proportionate increase of Lord James's rank and power decided him to

return to France until the times were more propitious at home. As luck would have it his ship was driven by storms to seek shelter at Holy Island, near Berwick, where, being detained by Sir Thomas Dacre, he begged the Earl of Northumberland to solicit Elizabeth to retain him under her protection rather than have him delivered over to his enemies in Scotland. Elizabeth's form of protection was to lock him up safely in the Tower of London for more than a year. Doubtless she regarded him as a useful pawn to keep in reserve, as Quadra plainly hinted. Very probably, too, Elizabeth—or Cecil—remembered Throckmorton's words when Bothwell suddenly left France in the winter of 1560, boasting that he would do great things in Scotland: "He is a glorious, rash and hazardous young man; and therefore it were meet his adversaries should both have an eye to him and also keep him short."[1] Randolph plainly hated him like poison:

"I take it in good part" Mary told Randolph "that the Queen my good sister's officers for good will towards me, have apprehended the Lord Bothwell, who hath over greatly failed towards me; wherefore I pray you write unto the Queen your mistress that I do desire that he may be sent hither again into Scotland, so shall the pleasure be great and I will with glad will requite the same."[2] Randolph promised to do as she requested, "and sought occasion to talk of other things, and took leave. So your Honour knows both her Grace's desire and the lord's. One thing I must not omit—I know him as mortal an enemy to our whole nation as any man alive, despiteful out of measure, false and untrue as a devil. If his power had been [equal] to the will he hath, neither the Queen's Majesty had stood in so good terms of amity with this Queen as she doth, nor minister left alive that should be a travailer between their Majesties for the continuance of the same. If I had made any account of his threatenings, or could have doubted his malice, your Honour had heard before this time

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 679.
[2] Hardwicke State Papers, Nov. 28, 1560.

what just occasion I have had only to esteem him as here I report him to be, but also to seek that revenge which justly I ought to seek of an enemy to my country, a blasphemous and an irreverent speaker both of his own sovereign and the Queen's Majesty my mistress, and one that the godly of this whole nation hath a cause to curse for ever, that by that dishonourable and (not to offend your Honour's ears) thievish act that he committed against the Laird of Ormiston, adventured the loss of the chief nobility of this realm. You will pardon me thus angrily to write ; it is much less than I think or have good cause, or he should find if my power were [equal] to the mind I bear to all of his sort.[1]

In France, in the meantime, the English expedition had done little except to rouse the deep-rooted hatred of the nation against the intruders. Elizabeth would not send an army as far as Rouen, where help was badly needed, being content to hold Havre as security for Calais. Poynings, however, who went over with the first detachment of 3,000 men, risked her displeasure by permitting five hundred men to make a desperate attempt to force their way to Rouen through the besieging army and reinforce the feeble garrison. They only succeeded with the loss of most of these gallant men, the rest struggling through only to fall in the final defence of the town. The news of this disaster was a heavy blow to English hopes. When Dudley first heard of it he did not dare to tell Elizabeth at once that Rouen had actually fallen. Her distress of mind at the bare possibility of such an event is apparent in the postscript, which she wrote with her own hand, to the letter of encouragement immediately forwarded by her Council to the Earl of Warwick:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF WARWICK.

[Strickland's "*Lives of the Queens of England.*"]

My dear Warwick,

If your honour and my desire could accord with the loss of the needfulest finger I keep, God so help

[1] Randolph to Cecil, Jan. 22, 1563, Scottish Calendar, Vol. I.

me in my utmost need, as I would gladly lose that one joint for your safe abode with me; but since I cannot that I would, I will do that I may, and will rather drink in an ashen cup than you and yours should not be succoured, both by sea and land, and that with all speed possible; and let this my scribbling hand witness it to them all.

Yours as my own,
E.R.

A few lines like that tell us far more of the secret of Elizabeth's influence—the magic power that made men willing to do and dare anything for their liege lady's sake—than all the laboured metaphorical letters which it sometimes pleased her Majesty to write. The loss of Rouen was followed on December 19 by the greater disaster of Dreux, at which battle at least 6,000 men were slain—the slaughter being great on both sides—and the Prince of Condé taken prisoner. "Except Almighty God show His arm and power," wrote Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith when news of this disaster reached him, "this web is undone and new to begin." The Princess of Condé wrote a pathetic letter to Elizabeth—here translated from the original French printed by Forbes—beseeching her Majesty's prompt assistance:

THE PRINCESS OF CONDÉ TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Forbes' "*Full View of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*"]

[ORLEANS, *January* 5, 1563.]

Madame,

My uncle, Monsieur d'Andelot, is writing to you of the need which we have of your prompt favour and good succour, in order to prevent the fulfilment of the designs of the enemies of God and His Gospel, and the disturbers of the public peace of France; and I am unable to restrain myself from accompanying his dispatch with this my letter, and humbly to entreat your Majesty to consider the affliction in which I find myself so sadly; seeing to-day how shamefully treated is Monsieur my husband, whom I honour and esteem more than anything in the world,

held captive in the hands of those, who, instead of recognizing him for what he is in this kingdom, usurp violently what the law and nature rightly deny them, striving to triumph over him. There is nothing of which it is less hard or more utterly insupportable for me to think: and, without the grace which God gives me, representing before my eyes that such visitations come from His hand, and that they are the sign with which He marks His own, I do not know what I should do.

But, however much He may have wished by this means to prove it, even when in defence of His holy quarrel, yet He has not forbidden us to have some recourse to human methods, provided they are established on His grace. And for this cause, Madame, take pity on a Princess, who has wept so much for the grief which she properly and justly feels from the imprisonment of a prince her husband, whom it has pleased you to favour so much, judging him worthy of your gracious indulgence, as declared by the virtuous tokens you have so openly shown him in pursuance of this cause. May it please you to prove in this urgent necessity how no variety in the conditions of prosperity or adversity can change your sacred affections; and promptly to aid him who, for the glory of our God, and in order faithfully to preserve the estate of his King is now the prisoner of those who, in order to succeed in their designs, would be well pleased to strike down such a rampart of this crown, so that they may afterwards, making more easily the breach, march into the fortress. I entreat you very humbly, Madame, to excuse me if I speak of it with such vehemence; and that you will so oblige Monsieur my husband that he may be able some day to have the means of showing you by his services that ingratitude and unthankfulness have no place in his heart. And as for me, Madame, being unable at this moment to do anything else, I will pray to the Creator that he may preserve you in perfect health, and grant you a long and happy life, saluting

your good grace with my very humble recommendations.

When Elizabeth wrote her reply she little dreamt how near the Princess was to realising her fondest hopes:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE PRINCESS OF CONDÉ.

[Forbes' "*Full View of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*"]

January 26, 1563.

Madame,

I have received your letters of the 5th of this month: and, while I can only condole very greatly with you on the misfortune which has befallen my cousin, the Prince of Condé, your husband, on the day of battle, I am yet very greatly pleased to hear that God, in His providence, has so moderated the event of the said day, that He has left to the enemy no just occasion for exulting in it; although, by the course he takes, he tries to persuade the world that the victory was on his side. And inasmuch as he nevertheless shows himself so obstinate that he will not hear of any reasonable agreement, yet pursues his first designs with all his strength, I have no doubt that God, at the last, of His infinite goodness, will only bring about such end as you desire, it being truly His own cause: begging you, Madame, therefore, to console yourself with every good hope; assuring you also that this accident to the said Lord Prince has in nothing abated our favour to him. I hold myself still more steadfast and resolved to aid him and his associates by every good means in my power; as I have very fully made known to Monsieur le Vidame de Chartres and the Sieurs de Briquemault and de la Haye lately here, and also by my letters now written to Monsieur the Admiral: praying God, Madame, my good Cousin, that He may have you in His holy keeping, and make you joyful with what you desire.

On February 18 the Duke of Guise was shot by an assassin at Orleans and died six days later, whereupon the war

came to an end, Condé and the Queen Mother, with the Constable and d'Andelot, temporarily settling their religious differences with the compromise published in the Edict of Amboise. While this was happening Elizabeth's second Parliament was meeting and vainly endeavouring to settle the vital problem of the Queen's marriage and the succession. In reply to the petition presented by the Speaker, Thomas Williams, drawn up by a committee of the House of Commons, and agreed to by the Lords, the Queen, as usual, deferred her decision. Her answer on this occasion is so characteristic that it is worth printing in full :

THE QUEEN'S ANSWER TO THE SPEAKER.

[Harington's "*Nugæ Antiquæ.*"]

Williams,

I have heard by you the common request of my Commons, which I may well term, as methinks, the whole realm ; because they give, as I have heard, in all these matters of Parliament, their common consent to such as be here assembled. The weight and greatness of this matter might cause in me, as I must confess, being a woman, wanting both wit and memory, some fear to speak, and bashfulness besides, a thing appropriate to my sex. But yet the princely state and kingly office (wherein God, though unworthy, hath constituted me) maketh these two causes to seem little in mine eyes, though grievous perhaps to your ears, and boldeneth me (*that* notwithstanding) to say somewhat in this matter, which I mean only to touch, but not presently to answer ; for this so great a demand needeth both great and grave advice. I read a philosopher, whose deeds upon this occasion I remember better than his name, who always, when he was required to give answer in any hard question of school points, would rehearse over his alphabet, before he would proceed to any further answer therein, not for that he could not presently have answered, but to have his wit the riper, and better sharpened to answer the matter withal. If he, a private man, but in matters of school, took such delay, the better

to show his eloquence, great cause may justly move me, in this so great a matter touching the benefit of this realm, and the safety of you all, to defer my answer to some other time; wherein, I assure you, the consideration of mine own safety, although I thank you for the great care that you seem to have thereof, shall be little in comparison of that great regard that I mean to have of the safety and surety of you all: and though God of late seemed to touch me rather like one that He chastised, than one that He punished; and though death possessed almost every joint of me, so as I wished then that the feeble thread of life, which lasted methought all too long, might, by Clotho's[1] hand, have quickly been cut off; yet desired not I life then (as I have some witness here) so much for mine own safety as for yours; for I knew that, in exchange of this reign, I should have enjoyed a better reign, where residence is perpetual. There needs no boding of my bane. I know as well now as I did before that I am mortal; I know, also, that I must seek to discharge myself of that great burden that God hath here laid upon me: for of them *to whom much is committed, much is required.*

Think not that I, that in other matters have had convenient care of you all, will in this matter, touching the safety of myself and you all be careless. For know, that this matter toucheth me much nearer than it doth you all, who, if the worst happen, can lose but your bodies: but I, if I take not that convenient care that it behoveth me to have therein, I hazard to lose both body and soul; and though I am determined, in this so great and weighty a matter, to defer my answer till some other time, because I will not, in so deep a matter, wade with so shallow a wit: yet have I thought good to use these few words, as well to show you that I am neither careless nor unmindful of your safeties in

[1] Clotho: though Atropos seems to have been the destiny whom her Majesty meant to employ.—Thomas Park, "*Nugæ Antiquæ.*"

this case; as I trust you likewise do not forget, that by me you were delivered while you were yet hanging on the bough, ready to fall into the mud, yea, to be drowned in the doing; neither yet the promises which you have now made me concerning your duties and due obedience, wherewith I may and mean to charge you, as further to let you understand that I neither mislike of your request herein, nor of that great care that you seem to have of your own safety in this matter.

Lastly, because I will discharge some restless heads, in whose brains the needless hammers beat with vain judgment that I should mislike this their petition; I say that, of the matter, some thereof I like and allow very well; as to the circumstances, if any be, I mean, upon further advice, further to answer. And so I assure you all, that though, after my death, you may have many stepdames, yet shall you never have any a more natural mother than I mean to be unto you all.

It was impossible to bind her to anything more definite, though repeated attempts were made. There was no desperate hurry, she would reply; she was still young. Cecil had his hands full with this and other parliamentary business, besides the anxious affairs of Scotland and France. He could not forbear a groan when writing to Sir Thomas Smith of affairs in general at this anxious time:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

[Wright's "*Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

February 27, 1563.

Sir,

Mr. Somers returned hither on Thursday at night, who, beside the letters which he brought, was able to report of certainty that which we here were very glad to hear, I mean of the hurt of the Duke of Guise, whose soul I could wish in heaven, and mine also.

Since Sir Nicholas Throckmorton went to Newhaven,[1] I have heard nothing certain of the Admiral but that he should have put two thousand men into Caen; but the castle was held by the Marquis d'Elbœuf. His *reiters* shall receive their pay, of the which Mr. Throckmorton carrieth with him twenty thousand pounds, and yesterday, I think, passed ten thousand pounds more from Portsmouth. This day commission passeth from hence to the Count of Oldenburg, to levy eight thousand footmen, and four thousand horse, who will I trust pass into France with speed and courage. He is a notable, grave, and puissant Captain, and fully bent to hazard his life in the cause of religion.

The bearer of these letters cometh from the Lord of Lethington, who is here to motion to the Duke of Guise, and consequently to that King, that the Queen of Scots, his mistress, might be a means of peace, but how unmeet a means some will think her, I doubt. Nevertheless the office is meet for a Christian Prince, and God send success! . . . I am so fully occupied to expedite matters in this Parliament that I have no leisure almost to attend any other things. A subsidy and two fifteenths are granted as big as ever any was. A like is granted by the clergy. A law is passed for sharpening laws against Papists, wherein some difficulty hath been, because they be made very penal; but such be the humours of the Commons House, that they think nothing sharp enough against Papists.[2]

Very good laws are in hand for increase of fishermen, and consequently the mariners and navy. Fish-

[1] Sir Nicholas Throckmorton arrived at Newhaven (Havre) on February 14, 1563.

[2] At the Pope's council at Rome, this year (says Wright, in printing this letter), "among other infamous resolutions, was the following: 'A pardon to be granted to any that would assault the Queen, or to any cook, brewer, baker, vinter, physician, grocer, chirurgeon, or of any other calling whatsoever that would make her away. And an absolute remission of sins to the heirs of that party's family, and a perpetual annuity to them for ever, and to be of the privy council to whomsoever afterwards should reign.'"

is much favoured, and Wednesday meant to be observed like Saturday, and sundry other things therein provided.[1] I have been author of a short law, not exceeding twelve lines, whereby is ordered that if any man will sell any foreign commodity to any person, for apparel, and without ready money, or without payment within twenty-eight days, the seller shall be without his remedy.

There is also a very good law agreed upon for indifferent allowances for servants' wages in husbandry. Many other good laws are passed the nether House, as for toleration of usury under ten per cent. (which notwithstanding I durst not allow); another against Egyptians,[2] another to remedy the defrauding of statutes for tillage.

Yesterday were condemned two Poles, Fortescue, one Spencer, and Bingham, servants to the Lord Hastings of Loughborough,[3] and one Berwick. Fortescue confessed all, and so was attainted, and is thereby never to take hold of mercy. The treasons were intents to come with a power into Wales, and to proclaim the Scottish Queen. The traitors seek their defence by saying that they meant it not before the Queen our Sovereign should die, which, as they were persuaded by one Prestall, should be about this March. But I trust God hath more store of His mercies for us, than so to cast us over to devouring lions. . . .

Yours assured,

W. Cecil.

It may here be added that in addition to Elizabeth's second Parliament there was held at the same time a Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. This was

[1] The Papists laughed at these fast days for the encouragement of fishing. The Wednesday they called Cecil's Fast (*Jejuneum Cecilianum*).—Wright.

[2] Gipsies.

[3] Sir Edward Hastings, first Baron Hastings, of Loughborough, a powerful Catholic under Mary. He had been imprisoned in 1561 for hearing Mass, but was released on taking the oath of supremacy.

made memorable by the publication of the famous "Thirty-Nine Articles," which were, practically speaking, Cranmer's forty-two, revised and reduced by Parker in the successful spirit of compromise which played so large a part in the Elizabethan Settlement.

CHAPTER VII

LOVE AND WAR

The Chastelard Affair—Lethington's Mission to London—Discusses the Prospects of Mary Stuart's Marriage with Don Carlos—Elizabeth Offers the Hand of Lord Robert Dudley—Philip II. Spoils Another Opportunity—Catholic Support for Mary Stuart in England—Why Elizabeth Refused to Nominate Mary as her Successor—Huntingdon's Letter of Loyalty—End of the First Religious War in France—Elizabeth Refuses to Evacuate Havre—Warwick's Fight Against Hopeless Odds—Don Carlos and Mary Stuart—Elizabeth's Warning on the Subject—Death of Bishop Quadra—Closing Scenes at Havre—The Plague Spreads to England—Lady Catherine Grey and Lord Hertford Removed for Safety—Lady Catherine's Disillusioned Hopes—Elizabeth's Love of Hunting and Archbishop Parker's Love of Venison.

ENTER Chastelard, hapless victim of one of the tragic love romances of history, according to Swinburne and Froude; villain of the most despicable type, according to his critics. Froude pictures Chastelard as a lovelorn young poet and musician sighing at Mary's feet both during her voyage to Scotland, and afterwards for some months at Holyrood. "He went back to France, but could not remain there. The moth was recalled to the flame whose warmth was life and death to it." Lethington, on the other hand, as will be seen on p. 280, depicted him as a reckless conspirator, sent specially to compromise Mary by her enemies in France. He was undoubtedly welcomed and made one of her favourite attendants by Mary, who shocked both Knox and Randolph by her indiscreet familiarities with him. According to Knox she would "sometimes privily steal a kiss from his neck;" but she ordered him away when he went the length of hiding in her bedroom. Nothing daunted, he made another and more desperate attempt; and lost his head for his pains:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

ST. ANDREWS, *February* 28, 1863.

I promised in my last I would write more amply of Chastelard's bold attempt; but there were so many divers reports; and contrary judgments as to what

should become of him, that for long time I could come by no certainty. I also absented myself from the Court, lest I had been required to be suitor for him, whom I judged even more worthy of 500 deaths than of one jot of the favour I saw was borne to him. I arrived here on Ash Wednesday, and heard by the way that on Monday before he was beheaded. After conferring with some friends I understood for certain that this was proved—that the night before the Queen departed out of Edinburgh towards this town, he was found lying under the Queen's bed with his sword beside him and his dagger about him, the Queen being ready to go into her bed; whereof the Queen was not made privy until the morrow, for disquieting of her that night, and in the morning, being advertised, she commanded him out of her presence. He notwithstanding followed her to Dunfermlin, and either by some word or token finding (as he thought) her wrath appeased, took new courage upon him, and at her coming unto Burnt Island (the third day after her departure from Edinburgh) the Queen being in her chamber, no man in her company, only certain of her gentlewomen about her, he cometh in alone, and desireth that he might purge himself of that crime that he was charged with, denying that he was found under her Grace's bed, but said that being in her Grace's chamber late, and finding himself for want of sleep, got him unto the next place that was at hand, which was unto the most secret place of the whole house, where her Grace did resort unto about her most private affairs. . . . Though this was evil enough, and greater boldness in him than any man of a far greater calling ought to have done—yet he was convicted by sufficient witnesses that he was not found there, but under the bed. He was then committed to ward, the next day sent to St. Andrews, and five or six days after, his head cut off in the open market place on market day. He died repentant, confessing privately more than he spoke openly.[1]

[1] Knox, who declared that Chastelard lost his head "that his

His purpose the night he was found under the bed was to have tried her constancy, and by force to have attempted that which by no persuasions he could attain unto, whereby ensued the reward of so rash an enterprise of such an unworthy creature ever to think to come by that which she herself (I believe) judgeth very few in the world worthy of. Thus your Honour understands the matter as truly as any man can report it. She has taken some grief of mind, but begins to be merry again. Hereof she never had purpose with me herself, but divers of her gentlewoman and others have no small regret that such a thing should have chanced. Their sorrow will pass and the wonder blown over in nine days. The man that takes most sorrow is the Earl of Murray, lest worse be judged of it, and of the familiar usage of such a varlet than was meant by her.

Much is hoped of Lethington's travail. The godly trust her Majesty will never desert the poor Protestants for any persuasion made—though it is long since we heard from your Honour how things prosper among them. Since Raulet's arrival here, never came letter from France to this Queen, for all the fair promises and offer of service to her Grace by the venerable Cardinal of A., I mean the Bishop of Arras, who in his last letters hither wrote very despitefully of our sovereign's doings in France. There lacks no good will in him to work mischief.

It is vehemently suspected there is some practice of marriage—your Honour knows which way, if so be. Others fear, if the Duke have his way, there will be another alliance with France. We can only conjecture, for in this realm no man knows her mind. Our preachers pray daily that God will keep us from the bondage of strangers, and for herself in effect that

tongue should not utter the secrets of our Queen, concluded a godly confession on the scaffold by looking unto the heavens and uttering these words, *O cruelle dame!*" Brântome, who was not present, declares that he consoled himself on the scaffold only with Ronsard's "Hymn to Death," after reading which he cried aloud, "Adieu, most beautiful and cruel princess!"

God will either turn her heart, or send her short life! Of what charity or spirit this proceedeth, I leave to be discussed unto the great divines. . . .

By this time Lethington, as stated by Cecil in his last letter, had arrived in London not only to offer Mary as a mediator between Elizabeth and the Guises, but also to continue the negotiations for the acknowledgment of Mary's right to the succession. The difference between the Reformation in England and in Scotland is illustrated by Cecil's application for a restricted Lent licence for the Scottish ambassador:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

[*Parker Correspondence.*]

February 27, 1563.

My very good lord. The lord of Lethington, lately sent to the Queen's Majesty from the Queen of Scots, desireth to have the use of flesh this Lent. And because he is a stranger come in this charge, I heartily pray your Grace to consider of it, for his satisfaction therein. Marry I trust you will order it with as much restraint and limitation of days, with the manner thereof for himself and his only, as is meet for the example's sake. And so I bid your Grace heartily farewell.

Your Grace's at command,

W. Cecil.

I beseech your Grace be not too light-handed in licences to every person.

When the death of Guise, Mary's kinsman and most powerful friend, upset Lethington's plans he turned to Quadra to discuss the pros and cons of a marriage between his mistress and Don Carlos, Spain being now her chief hope of a Catholic backing in case it became necessary to assert her rights to the English throne:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

London, *March* 18, 1563.

On the 27th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty that Lethington, the Secretary of the Queen of Scotland,

had arrived here, and the cause of his coming so far as I could then ascertain. Since then I have seen him several times, and as it seemed to me that he was desirous of talking with me about his affairs, and was dissatisfied with this Queen, I invited him to dinner. When we were alone, on my simply asking him how he was getting on with his business in London, he launched out into a long account of the whole negotiation, which mainly consisted of two points, namely, the succession of his mistress the Queen to this crown, and the question of her marriage. . . . When he arrived here and told this Queen that he came on behalf of his mistress to offer her intervention between her and the King of France, in accordance with the desires which had been signified here, she told him he was very welcome, and thanked her cousin the Queen warmly for her good intentions, and said that he could go to France, and she would instruct her ambassador, Smith, to negotiate. Lethington was not desirous of leaving here so quickly, before learning what was going on in Parliament about his Queen's affairs, and what action the Queen of England intended taking in them, and he therefore answered that he would gladly do as she commanded, but that for his own dignity and the success of the negotiation, it was necessary first that the wishes of Her Christian Majesty and her son should be ascertained. Notwithstanding all their argument against this he stood firm, and this Queen was at last obliged to consent to his sending a servant to ask leave in France for his going. When this servant had departed, there came among other troubles the news of the wounding and subsequently the death of the Duke of Guise, which rendered the negotiations of the Scottish Queen ridiculous and contemptible. Lethington was so indignant at this that he came to discuss his affairs with me, and finding me disposed to lean to the interests of his Queen, he had thus opened his mind as I have stated. When we had arrived at the point where he was telling me

how perplexed and desperate he was I said that in my opinion, there was no other remedy for the Queen of Scotland but for her to marry a husband from this Queen's hand, in which case she would be declared her successor. He said there were two difficulties in this course, namely, that the Queen his mistress would never marry a Protestant, even if he were lord of half the world, as he knew well, for he had resorted even to the use of (threats ?) to get her to change her resolve in this respect, but without success.

The second difficulty is that his mistress says she will not take a husband, Catholic or Protestant, from the hands of the Queen of England, even if by this act alone she could be declared her successor, because she knows that in the first place any husband she would give her would be one of her subjects, whom she would rather die than accept; and in the second, that after she had married beneath her, she would have exactly the same trouble as now to press her claims to the succession, as, without forces of her own, she never could do it, whatever declarations might be made, and whereas she now has the adhesion of all the Catholics of the realm, and of many who are not Catholics, perhaps she would lose it all after she had made a sorry marriage. He said therefore, that there was no hope of agreement based on the submission to the Queen of Scotland to this Queen, and her acceptance of a husband to her (Elizabeth's) liking, and this was the reason why his mistress had decided, that in the event of no satisfactory arrangement being made here, he should go to France and propose through her uncles the marriage of the Christian King, although she knew that in consequence of their near relationship and disparity of age, it was an unsuitable match. She was driven to this course, however, by necessity, since not only English, but also even Frenchmen for their own ends thwarted her by proposing, now the Duke of Ferrara, now the Earl of Arran, and now other things totally shameful and infamous. Treating

of this matter, he told me that the Duke had already been firmly refused, and as for the Earl of Arran, the Queen hated him so, that having heard that the Queen of France, through this Ambassador Foix, had given him some hope of the match, she wrote a letter to the French Queen complaining bitterly that Foix should have dealings in Scotland with any of her subjects, or secret understandings with them here. She says they have not yet dared to suggest to her a husband less great and powerful than the one she has lost.

I asked him what about the marriage with the Archduke Charles. He said he had heard more about it here than in Scotland, and so far as he understood the thoughts and intentions of his mistress such a match would not satisfy her, since the Archduke has nothing in his favour but his relationship with your Majesty, and this alone is not sufficient for the aims the Queen and the Scots have in view. The relationship of princes is of small importance in the affairs of their dominions, and if your Majesty did not promise great support and effectual aid to the Archduke, he thought there was no chance of such a match being acceptable. Talking over all these matters, and especially of the suspicion with which he repeated several times this Queen regards the marriage of the Queen of Scotland, we came to speak of our lord the Prince, of whom he told me these people here are so mortally afraid that they have no rest, and feel sure your Majesty will play them a fine trick some day when they least expect it. I told him that I had an idea also that this Queen was somewhat frightened of such a marriage since the Queen of Scots had become a widow, and to keep us in hand they had offered great things respecting the reformation of religion, but that since the commencement of the war in France, it appeared as if this Queen, fortified as she was by the faction of the Prince of Condé and the Chatillons, was not so alarmed, and I thought also she might feel the more secure as the Scots were

of the same religion. He replied that I was mistaken, as they were more afraid now than ever before, and that as for religion, this Queen cared as little for one as for the other. He said their religion in Scotland was very different from the English, as here they had removed the sacrament and names from the Anglican Church without reforming the abuses and irregularities, and that it was simply nonsense to think that questions of religion were really at the bottom of the present state of affairs. Returning to the question of our lord the Prince, he said that this Queen was in great fear of his marriage, and the Queen of France the same, with very good reason, as, if your Majesty listened to it, not only would you give your son a wife of such excellent qualities as those possessed by his Queen, who was in prudence, chastity and beauty, equalled by few in the world, but you also gave him a power which approached very nearly to monarchy, adding to the dominions already possessed by your Majesty two entire islands, this and Ireland, the possession of which by your Majesty would give no trouble whatever, having regard to the great attachment the Catholics bear to this marriage, and to the union of these crowns, which he well knew, and that his mistress had no enemies here but the Protestants. . . .

What passed between us is, in substance, what I have set forth, but much less diffusely, as we spoke about nothing else for the whole four or five hours we were together. As he slowly entered into the matter I carefully kept him to it without showing any certainty or eagerness, and praised the Archduke every now and then, so as to display as much inclination and hope of one match as of the other without preference for either. With regard to affairs here I can only say that on all hands I am receiving confirmation of the correctness of what I wrote respecting the attachment of the people of this country to the idea of the marriage in question, and there are persons who offer to serve your Majesty with 1,000

(men) for this ; and others promise other things no less important. It is easily seen by the state of the country that if God in His mercy deigns to relieve them from these wars the remedy will be by means of a union of the countries under a powerful Christian prince, and there appears to be no other course open. I say this in the name of all these good Christians and servitors of your Majesty here, who speak of the matter with such sorrow and vehemence that it seems as if no obstacle could withstand so much earnestness and determination. It is true that Cecil is playing his game to give the crown to the Earl of Hertford, as Lethington understands, but the adherents to such a course will be weak in comparison to the Catholic party who favour the Queen of Scotland, as some of the heretics side with Huntingdon, and some have no fixed plan, but will follow the strongest. The Catholics, however, are all of one will, and really, if your Majesty wishes, there appears to be no impediment to prevent your Majesty from entertaining what all here are talking of, and I approve.

Respecting the marriage of the King of France, I wish to observe that I had early news of the design, and as soon as Lethington arrived here I introduced the subject, as if casually, to the (French) Ambassador, who appeared not to attach much importance to it, and thought that the Queen-Mother would not be favourable to it, because they knew your Majesty would never allow the French to obtain the succession to this throne, which was the only good thing they could hope to get from the match. Lethington gave me to understand the very reverse of this, and said that Foix was very well disposed and that the French had some design prejudicial to your Majesty's interests. However that may be, and I believe one just as much as the other, my own opinion is that the French might try to insure themselves against our lord the Prince by arranging a marriage with the Queen of Scotland, which would last only until his Highness were married elsewhere. There would be

plenty of ways to get out of it if they wished, or it might be carried into effect if occasion served.

Ten days later Quadra sent his master word of Elizabeth's offer to Mary of Lord Robert's hand in marriage, when she added to what Lethington regarded as an insult by suggesting his brother Warwick as a possible alternative. She was probably no more sincere in this than was Lethington—if we are to believe Kirkcaldy of Grange—in his proposal for Mary's marriage to Don Carlos. In the midst of a world of duplicity, indeed, it is impossible to say who was really honest and straightforward. Apparently no one. But the correspondence, if it proves nothing else, shows the difficulty of knowing how far anyone's word could be trusted in those days, as well as the danger of dogmatizing on the subject at the present time. Quadra would fain believe in Lethington's sincerity. He saw the possibilities of such an alliance. Had Philip and Don Carlos been other than they were, it is possible that Elizabeth might have found herself deposed, and another Mary and Spanish Consort firmly established on her throne. But though Philip approved of the scheme, as will be found in his letter of June 15, he spoiled whatever chance it may have had by not striking while the iron was hot:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *March* 28, 1563.

By letter of 18th instant and previous dates I have advised the arrival here of Lethington, Secretary to the Queen of Scotland, and his interview with me. He has subsequently visited me, as I was unwell, and he assures me, since the day he spoke with me, six or seven of the peers have spoken to him separately, and have declared to him their desire to receive and serve the Queen of Scotland, and to see her married to our lord the Prince. He says the latter condition was urged by all with so much persistence and earnestness that he is quite convinced of the strong inclination towards the marriage held

by the people here. The French ambassador here recently declared that the marriage of the said Queen with the Archduke Charles was already a settled thing, but I do not know what his object is in saying so, whether it is true or (which is much more likely) because he thinks it will benefit his negotiations for peace. Lethington says that all the gentlemen that have spoken to him have expressed very little satisfaction at the talk of marriage with the Archduke, and he thinks in Scotland it will be no better received if it takes place. He has again repeated the arguments which I set forth in my letter of the 18th instant aforementioned, with other fresh ones which I need not here repeat. It occurs to me that having seen so great a leaning to this marriage on the part of the people here, his own desire for it has increased, and this has led him to assure me very emphatically of the small wish they have to join hands with the French and their great eagerness to establish their right to this country. He related to me also the grievances they have against both countries. He said that four or five days ago, when he was discussing with this Queen the question of peace with France, the conversation turned to the Queen of Scotland and her marriage. The Queen said that if his mistress would take her advice, and wished to marry safely and happily, she would give her a husband who would ensure both, and this was Lord Robert, in whom nature has implanted so many graces that if she wished to marry she would prefer him to all the princes in the world, and many more things of the same sort. Lethington says he replied that this was a great proof of the love she bore to his Queen, as she was willing to give her a thing so dearly prized by herself, and he thought the Queen, his mistress, even if she loved Lord Robert as dearly as she (Elizabeth) did, would not marry him, and so deprive her of all the joy and solace she received from his companionship. After spending a long time over these compliments he says the Queen

said to him she wished to God the Earl of Warwick his brother had the grace and good looks of Lord Robert, in which case each could have one. Lethington says he could not reply for confusion, but she nevertheless went on with the conversation, saying that the Earl of Warwick was not ugly either, and was not ungraceful, but his manner was rather rough, and he was not so gentle as Lord Robert. For the rest, however, he was so brave, so liberal and magnanimous, that truly he was worthy of being the husband of any great princess. Lethington was anxious to escape from this colloquy by bringing on the subject of the succession, which he knew would shut her mouth directly, and therefore told her that the Queen his mistress was very young yet, and what this Queen might do for her was to marry Lord Robert herself first and have children by him, which was so important for the welfare of the country, and then when it should please God to call her to himself she could leave the Queen of Scots heiress both to her kingdom and her husband. In this way it would be impossible for Lord Robert to fail to have children by one or other of them, who would in time become Kings of these two countries, and so turning it to a joke he put an end to the conversation. Lethington was so upset by the talk of the Earl of Warwick, whom I certainly thought she would never dare to mention, that he would fain have posted off that very hour, as he assures me he would do now if he had not been charged with these peace negotiations, for which he will probably have to go to France. I think he is dealing straightforwardly, with me, as he gives me many pledges and reveals things very prejudicial to himself, although he gets from me in return nothing but the usual uncertainty and indecision.

The fact is doubtless that seeing so great a desire in England for this marriage with the Prince and so marked a repugnance to any other, even to that with the Archduke, or other as nearly allied to your

Majesty, they are ready to do anything to obtain it. Although their position with regard to religion is the same as usual I still think they would do even more in this respect than up to the present they have said. I gather from his words that the Queen of Scotland must be treated by the Queen-Mother with great disregard, and he said clearly that a much closer friendship than anybody thought existed between the Queen-Mother and the Prince of Condé and the Chatillons. He showed me the statement of a circumstance that had happened to his Queen, the most extraordinary and unpleasant thing ever heard of. It happened on the night that Lethington took leave of her to come hither. He, Lord James, and two other members of her Council were with her for several hours in her private cabinet until after midnight. During this time a little Frenchman called Chastelard, who arrived some months ago from France, and who was always joking among the ladies, took the opportunity of some of the attendants in the Queen's chamber having gone to sleep to slip underneath the bed. When Lethington and the others had gone, two grooms of the chamber entered, and when the chamber was cleared looked as usual behind the tapestry and the bed, and came across the hidden Frenchman. Seeing himself discovered, he tried hard to pass it all off as a joke, and said he had fallen asleep there, because they would not let him sleep anywhere else. He wanted them to let him go with this, but the grooms called the mistress of the robes and told her, and she ordered the captain of the guard to be summoned, and charged him to keep the man in safe custody, saying however nothing to the Queen, so as not to spoil her night's rest. She was informed the next morning and the man was brought before the Council and examined. He wished still to turn the thing into a joke, but the Queen ordered that he should be punished in any case, if not for his villainy then for his carelessness, and that the truth of the matter should be discovered, as it could not

have been negligence. Finding himself in a fix the man said that he had been sent from France by persons of distinguished position, with sufficient means and apparel in order that he should get a footing in the Court and household of the Queen of Scotland, and try to make himself so familiar with her and her ladies that he could seize an opportunity of obtaining some appearance of proof sufficient to sully the honour of the Queen. He was instructed after attempting so great a crime as this to escape at once, and he should be greatly esteemed and largely rewarded, and he therefore intended to remain that night underneath the bed, and go out in the morning, so that he could escape after being seen, which was what he desired. After this confession had been made and confirmed before all the people they cut off the man's head.

The persons who sent him on this treacherous errand were, according to Lethington, several, but she who gave the principal instructions was Madame de Curosot.[1] The Queen writes to Lethington that the other names are such that they cannot be entrusted to letters, but I do not know who it is that he suspects, as he keeps it very close from me. This malefactor came here last November with a German captain nominally as his servant, and both were followers of Monsieur Damville. When he passed through here he told a friend of his, by means of whom I will try to find out something, that he was going to Scotland to see his lady love. This Queen had received news of the affair before Lethington's arrival here by means of a special messenger, who travelled with great speed, and Lethington found it was very much talked about, which greatly grieved him until he received advice of what was being done. He seems now somewhat tranquillised about the affair itself, but complains bitterly of the people

[1] Curosot, writes Andrew Lang, is the Spanish cipher name for Chatillon, and the wife of the Admiral Coligny is intended, or the real name is de Cursol or Crusolles, later Duchesse d'Uzès.

who sent the man on his errand. He says that all Scotland is offended at it, and that it has originated in some of the most powerful people in France.

I hear that it has been proposed to the Lords in Parliament to reduce the succession to the crown to four lines or families in the kingdom, leaving to the Queen the nomination of the one that has to succeed her out of these four. It is a trick of Cecil's so that it shall fall where he wishes, and the naming of four houses will close the mouths of many who will content themselves with that honour, although they know they will be excluded from the succession itself. The Queen will obtain what she has been contemplating for some time, namely the reduction of the succession to her testamentary disposition. I expect they will exclude women born and to be born in order to make sure of the Queen of Scotland, whose chance in the matter has been quite spoilt by the death of the Duke of Guise.

Lethington leaves for France in three days quite undeceived about affairs here, although he will continue the peace negotiations. He says he is ostensibly going to look after the Queen's property in France, but I am not without suspicion that he will treat of the marriage with his Queen with the King of France, not getting any satisfactory answer here about our lord the Prince.

Lethington, as Quadra told his master, was not alone in weighing the advantages of the Spanish match for Mary. "A well-known Catholic M.P." assured him that some of the English nobles would willingly set aside all the other claimants to the throne "and give the kingdom to the person to whom it rightly belongs, namely the Queen of Scotland, if your Majesty would consent to her marriage with our lord the Prince, in which they say all would gladly concur, and receive him with open arms as King, and so unite these two crowns, and become subjects of a great sovereign under whom they could live in peace, and do away with these religious questions. He has named up to the present five persons of position who he says have sent to

him, and very shortly this opinion will be held by many more. He says if I like he will go himself to Scotland on a favourable opportunity to treat with that Queen for the conclusion of this business, which he looks upon as done so far as regards the people here."[1]

Possibly the M.P. was merely one of Cecil's agents, but Quadra was the more convinced of his sincerity because he could not see any other remedy for the kingdom than the one proposed. "There is not a single one of these pretenders who is strong enough to withstand the others and master the whole of them, and consequently they cannot fail to come to blows over it, and run the risk of falling a prey to the King of Sweden or anybody else who invades the country with some force and money." Elizabeth herself was in an extremely difficult position. She could not name the Queen of Scots as her successor, fearing that to do so would merely be to sign her own death-warrant. Her grim metaphor to Lethington on the subject was that to agree to his proposal would be "simply to prepare her own winding sheet and make her grave ready." She probably realised as well as did the Spanish Ambassador, that to choose anyone else would be to sow the seed of civil war. So she found her only safety in procrastination. When the Lords went to her after the Commons' failure, and begged her to settle the question, she did not disguise her annoyance. "She told them," wrote Quadra to Philip, "that the marks they saw on her face were not wrinkles, but pits of small-pox, and that although she might be old God could send her children as He did to Saint Elizabeth, and they (the Lords) had better consider well what they were asking, as, if she declared a successor, it would cost much blood to England."[2]

The minds of everyone were disturbed by all this uncertainty. "How wretched are we," wrote Dr. Jewel to Peter Martyr, "who cannot tell under what sovereign we are to live! God will, I trust, long preserve Elizabeth to us in life and safety, and that will satisfy us."[3] To be born with a strain of royal blood, however remote, where the

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 297.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 296.
[3] "Zurich Letters." First Series.

reigning Queen was the last of her race in the direct line, and unwilling to ensure the succession by the usual means of matrimony, was a privilege which more than one possible claimant to the crown would willingly have forfeited. Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, who, as stated on p. 142, had distant claims to the throne as a descendant of the Dukes of Buckingham and York, was fearful at this time of suffering for the zeal of those who would have appointed him Elizabeth's successor:

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

["*Hardwicke State Papers.*"]

April, 1563.

My honourable good Lord,

I am sorry that my present disease is such as there are left me but these two remedies, either to swallow up those bitter pills lately received, or to make you a partner of my griefs, thereby something to ease a wounded heart. At my wife's last being at Court, to do her duty as became her, it pleased her Majesty to give her a privy nip, especially concerning myself, whereby I perceive she hath some jealous conceit of me, and, as I can imagine, of late digested. How far I have been always from conceiting any greatness of myself, nay how ready I have been always to shun applause, both by my continual low sail, and my carriage, I do assure myself, is best known to your Lordship, and the rest of my nearest friends; if not, mine own conscience shall best clear me from any such folly. Alas, what could I hope to effect, in the greatest hopes I might imagine to have in the obtaining the least likelihood of that height? Will a whole commonwealth deprive themselves of so many blessings presently enjoyed, for a future hope uncertain, in favour of one inferior to many others, both in degree, and any princely quality? Will they forsake a Prince, both for excellent qualities, and rare virtues of nature, and of great hopes of an

inestimable blessing by her princely issue, in reason of her youth, for a poor subject in years, and without any great hope of issue? No, no, I cannot be persuaded they would, if I should be so foolishly wicked to desire it, or that my mind were so ambitiously inclined. I hope her Majesty will be persuaded of better things in me, and cast this conceit behind her; and that a foolish book, foolishly written, shall not be able to possess her princely inclination with so bad a conceit of her faithful servant, who desires not to live but to see her happy. What grief it hath congealed within my poor heart (but ever true) let your Lordship judge, whose Prince's favour was always more dear unto me than all other worldly facilities whatsoever. This I am bold to make known to your Lordship, humbly desiring the same when you see your opportunity to frame a new heart in her Majesty's princely breast, whose power I know is not little in effecting of far greater matters than this, for never shall there be a truer heart in any subject than I will carry to her Majesty so long as I breathe. And so I rest

Your poor Servant and Brother,

H. HUNTINGDON.

The situation was not improved for Elizabeth by the dramatic conclusion of the first war between the Catholics and the Huguenots in France. Peace having been signed, Warwick was requested by both sides to restore Havre to France, and to return with his unappreciated army to England. The Prince of Condé himself in his own name and that of the Queen-Mother offered to renew the clause in the Treaty of Cateau Cambresis for the restoration of Calais to England in 1567, and to repay Elizabeth the money which she had lent him for the recent campaign. Elizabeth, however, was furious with the "false Prince of Condé," as she called him, and declined to withdraw from Havre without the immediate restoration of Calais, reminding him of the terms of the agreement upon which she had sent to his assistance:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *May* 9, 1563.

Briquemault, the Prince of Condé's envoy, came here for the purpose I have mentioned, which was really only compliment to the Queen in recognition of the aid she had given, and a desire to make peace between her and the King of France, but without the surrender of Calais. She answered him with great bitterness, as I have said, and used extremely hard and insulting words towards the Prince; the formal reply given to Briquemart being that the King had better send M. Damville, or some other person with whom the Queen could treat, as she did not choose to negotiate with a messenger from the Prince of Condé. During Briquemault's stay here the King of France has sent some troops to Honfleur and Havre de Grace, and on the last day of April wrote a very humble letter to this Queen saying that as her occupation of the place had been, as she said, only for his benefit, he begged her now to be pleased to give it up, and remain a good friend to him in accordance with the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, and at the same time he sent a letter to his ambassador, instructing him to say that if the place were not surrendered he should be obliged to send an army against it. Last Thursday the ambassador gave his letter to the Queen, but no answer was vouchsafed him, except that she would consider the matter, and give her reply later. She spoke very violently of the Prince of Condé, calling him inconstant, lying and worthless (or naughty as they say here). The ambassador asked yesterday for the reply, and Cecil sent word that the Queen would send it through her own ambassador in France. The Ambassador tried hard to obtain another audience, in virtue of the credence he had handed her, and at last obtained one, when he asked her either to surrender Havre de Grace, or tell him her reasons for keeping it, and

if she thought of imposing conditions for its surrender, he begged her to tell him what they were. In order not to lose time he said that if these included the restitution of Calais before the time agreed upon, he might say at once that it would not be granted.

The Ambassador says the Queen replied at great length and very confusedly, not refusing to surrender the place or mentioning any other conditions except Calais.

Six days later the Venetian Ambassador in Paris wrote that war had been proclaimed there against England, and artillery and ammunition sent in the direction of Havre. "The Queen of England," he added, "according to the reply lately received from the gentleman who was sent to her about this business, still insists upon having the 200,000 francs disbursed for that place, and the interest due subsequently, and also security for the restitution of Calais in due season."[1] Huguenots and Catholics now combined to expel their ancient enemy from Havre, where Warwick awaited the siege with an army sadly reduced in numbers by the plague, as well as by the French. But for the disease the defence might have held out, but the original garrison died like flies, and reinforcements by the thousand arrived only to add to this frightful mortality. While Warwick was thus fighting against hopeless odds, and prepared to die sword in hand with the remnants of his army, Elizabeth at home declined to acknowledge defeat, or to discuss Condé's terms of peace. She was negotiating with Lethington at the same time and warning him against any marriage of which she did not personally approve for Mary. Philip's reply to Quadra's news of the Don Carlos scheme was not calculated to help matters in that direction :

PHILIP II. TO BISHOP QUADRA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

MADRID, *June* 15, 1563.

I have noted the long discussion you had with Lethington, and what he said to you respecting the

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. VII., p. 356.

marriage of the Queen of Scotland, his mistress, with the Prince, my son, and also of the manner in which you answered him and bore yourself towards him. I highly approve of your conduct in the matter, which was marked with great prudence, and seeing that the bringing about of this marriage may perhaps be the beginning of a reformation in religious matters in England, I have decided to entertain the negotiation. You will see that it is carried on in the same way that it has been commenced, if you consider that safe and secret, telling them to inform you of all the engagements and understandings they have in England, and you, knowing how valuable such knowledge may be to me, will carefully advise me of everything, together with your own opinion upon it. You will inform me step by step of all that happens in the matter, but without settling anything, except to find out the particulars referred to above, until I send you word what I desire shall be done. You may, however, assure them that my intentions are such as I mention in this letter, but you must urge them, above all, to use the greatest secrecy in the business, and all negotiations connected with it, as all the benefit to be derived from the affair depends absolutely upon nothing being heard of it until it is an accomplished fact. If it becomes known that such negotiations are being carried on, and that I am concerned in them, the French will be greatly alarmed, and will strenuously endeavour by some means or another to frustrate them. Even if they cannot do that they will try their hardest to counteract any profitable result that might arise, understanding that it will be entirely to their detriment. As for the Queen of England and her heretics, they are so deeply interested that you may easily judge what they would do if they heard of it, and, therefore, as I say, it is absolutely necessary that you should keep secret, and urge secrecy on the persons with whom you treat, so that they may make the Queen their mistress also capable of it. The

Emperor, depending upon the representations made to him by Cardinal Lorraine, looks upon the match with the Archduke Charles as certain. I send you attached an account of Cardinal Lorraine's information to the Emperor. The latter does not know the feeling of the Queen and her ministers about it, as you have been able to inform me, but if I saw any appearance of the Archduke's match being carried through, and of the possibility of getting from it the same advantages as at present appear derivable from the marriage with my son, I would embrace and promote it to the full extent of my power in preference to the latter, for the affection I bear to the Emperor my uncle and his sons.

What has moved me to take this business up and not to wait until the Emperor has been undeceived about it, has been the information you send me respecting the objections entertained by the Queen and her ministers to the match with the Archduke, and the small benefit they think they will derive from it; but, above all, your advice that they were about to enter into negotiations for the marriage of their Queen with the King of France. I will bear in mind the trouble and anxiety I underwent from King Francis when he was married to this Queen, and I am sure that if he had lived we could not have avoided plunging into war ere this on the ground of my protection of the Queen of England, whose country he would have invaded as he intended to do. To be at war on account of other people's affairs is a state of things which, you will agree with me, is to be avoided and is not at all to my liking, but in this case, seeing whom I should be obliging, it would be doubly disagreeable. With regard to the adherents the Scots will have in England, and the increasing of their number if necessary, you will not interfere in any way further than you have done hitherto, but let them do it themselves, and gain what friends and sympathy they can for their opinions amongst the Catholics, and those upon whom they depend. I say

this because, if anything should be discovered, they should be the persons to be blamed, and no one in connexion with us.

I note your remarks concerning the hope that the Catholics and good men in England place in me, and I certainly desire their welfare and amelioration with all my heart. You may assure them thus much, and encourage and console them through your usual channels, but do not for the world show yourself in the matter, as you know what the result might be.

But Lethington, in Quadra's opinion, as he states in his next letter, was now convinced of the futility of marrying Mary against Elizabeth's wishes:

BISHOP QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *June* 26, 1562.

Lethington left here on the 20th instant. I spoke a considerable time with him as he was starting, and he said that the Queen of England had commanded him to tell his mistress that she had heard of negotiations having been commenced for her marriage with our lord the Prince, or with the Archduke Charles, and she openly told her and protested that if she married either of them, or any member of the House of Austria, she could not avoid being her enemy, and she consequently charged her to consider well what step she took in such matter. At the same time, if she married a person to the Queen's satisfaction, she would not fail to be a good friend and sister to her and make her her heir, instead of being as she otherwise would be, her mortal enemy. Lethington had told the same story to the ambassador of France, adding also that this Queen objected to the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with the French King. I asked Lethington whom he thought the Queen wished her to marry, and he said he imagined it was some private gentleman, and as a last resort, she would agree to the King of Denmark or another Protestant

Prince, or even with the Duke of Ferrara, or a person of similar position in France. I also asked him if he thought his mistress would consent to do as the Queen wished, to which he answered that he feared not, although if she desired to please her subjects and succeed in her affairs she ought to do so. He again repeated that he did not know how they could put up with the Archduke Charles in Scotland, as he is so poor, and they had no money to help him.

In short it seemed to me, unless he is a very good actor, that he (Lethington) was going back confirmed in his determination to persuade his mistress to marry a husband chosen for her by this Queen, or at least one that was not objectionable to her, since on this condition he says, she has promised her the succession. I am quite sure they will not keep this promise any better than the previous promises they have made. Many people think that if the Queen of Scotland does marry a person unacceptable to this Queen, the latter will declare as her successor the son of Lady Margaret, whom she now keeps in the palace, and shows such favour to as to make this appear probable. I am also informed, and believe it, that if the Queen of Scotland does not marry our lord the Prince, even though she take the Archduke, many of her people will incline rather to Lady Margaret's son than to the Archduke, because if they cannot come into the hands of your Majesty they would rather have an Englishman than a poor foreigner.

That was nearly the last letter that the wily but faithful Quadra was to write, for death was shortly to bring him release from a post which had grown more and more irksome and dangerous every year since the Queen's accession. Only three months before he had begged his master's permission to retire:

Public affairs here and my own private troubles and necessities (he wrote) force me to beg your Majesty to be pleased to allow me to leave this island. I am of but little use here, and my residence is so costly

and onerous that, apart from my pecuniary estate, in which I am totally ruined, I am suffering much in health and all else. . . . I can truly say that I desire life for no other purpose than to serve your Majesty, as is my duty, but this residence of so many years here without any other means than those furnished for my support by your Majesty's orders, has become quite intolerable, and I lack every resource and expedient for carrying on any longer. I supplicate your Majesty to be pleased to convince yourself of this and order enquiry to be made, when it will be proved that for the many years I have served I have been spending all the little property I had without ever receiving a single favour, which I think arises from the fact that I have always served in foreign parts, and because I have been more diligent in doing my duty worthily than in soliciting and importuning. If I importune now I do so forced by my need, my trouble, and my afflictions, which grieve me most because they hinder me from serving your Majesty as I could wish.[1]

Philip, however, valued his services too highly to release him at such a critical juncture in Anglo-Scottish affairs. He drove him to despair also by the half-hearted way in which he proposed to deal with the suggested marriage between Mary Stuart and Don Carlos. Quadra had some reason to believe that Lethington's dream of that alliance had dissolved through the lack of an appropriate response, and that the English Catholics, whose chief hopes were not centred in the Queen of Scots, would do nothing in face of such leaden methods as Philip suggested. "In view of this grave state of things," wrote Quadra to the Duke of Alba on July 17, "I think the instructions his Majesty has given me are inadequate and not sufficiently decided, not because the greatness of the crisis does not call for all due deliberation, but because I think the remedy is a weak one for so dangerous a malady. When they see that instead of giving them a firm reply we come to them only with halting proposals, I do not know what they will think of it."[2] Yet the state of England,

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 319—20.
[2] *Ibid.*

as seen through his prejudiced eyes, and as, apparently, it was pictured to him by the firm adherents of the old Faith—who gave him lists of Catholics and others ready to raise troops for Mary's service when the hour was struck for Elizabeth's removal—convinced him that the time was ripe for revolt. The marvel was, he told Philip after some of the Catholic noblemen had been pouring out their grievances to him, that disturbances had not already broken out, "considering the grave and numerous causes of discontent that exist. The only way to account for it is that the force of tradition, and lack of spirit amongst the principal people, make them obedient to the name of the monarch apart from the power or substance, which certainly this Queen does not possess, being as she is so unpopular and despised, without troops, without money, and without harmony, at enmity with all the world."[1]

So that when presently laid low by sickness—probably by the plague which raged fiercely in London that summer—and the Bishop realised that his end was near, he grieved most of all that he should drop from his work just when he hoped to succeed. His last words, as one of his colleagues informed the King, were: "I can do no more." Quadra was reviled enough by Englishmen in his lifetime—"crafty old fox" Bishop Jewel called him—and has not been spared by modern historians. Let me at least register a tribute of respect for a man who, though not without his faults, did his best, according to his day and generation, and filled a difficult post faithfully to the bitter end.

Elizabeth's unhappy venture in France was now reaching its dramatic close at Havre, where the Earl of Warwick—with the permission at length received from Elizabeth to surrender at the last extremity—capitulated on July 28 under conditions which gave his troops time to deliver up the town and embark with all their possessions for England. Warwick himself was ill and wounded in the leg—by a poisoned bullet fired while he was negotiating terms from the ramparts—and his heroic army reduced to a mere handful. Cecil, informing Archbishop Parker on August 1 that Warwick had been given authority to deliver up the town on the conditions

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 321.

agreed upon, added: "This necessity the plague brought, and was inevitable."[1] The end of the siege is strikingly depicted by the Venetian Ambassador at the Court of France, who left Charles IX. and the Queen-Mother at Rouen to witness the closing scenes:

MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO TO THE SIGNORY.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. VII.]

UNDER HAVRE DE GRACE, *July* 29, 1563.

Yesterday, on my arrival at the camp, the troops within Havre de Grace were parleying with the Constable to surrender the town, and come to an agreement to depart thence safe with their baggage. So they have obtained four days' time to cross the sea, and in the meanwhile they have surrendered the fort with a large tower of the city. On my arrival here there was a truce for the convention, so I was able conveniently to inspect the outer walls, the trenches, and what had been done thereabouts. The garrison within were in fact reduced to a sorry plight, for the besiegers were about to storm the place, as they had already battered effectually and dismantled a bulwark and several towers of the port, and filled up the whole moat, so that with but a little more work they would have opened the road for themselves securely with a spade.

The besiegers had battered so furiously that I know not what fortress could have withstood them; and they had moreover a battery of forty cannon, so that whereas at first they used only to fire twenty or thirty shots each day, they now discharged more than one hundred and twenty, so that it is almost incredible to conceive the actual force which was poured forth from the batteries, and notwithstanding that the besieged have used their powerful artillery and harquebuses, and killed more than one thousand of the besiegers, the latter are so confident that they make light of their losses.

[1] Parker Correspondence.

This capture, according to military opinions, has been one of the greatest achieved for many years past, both on account of the nature of the fortress, considered to be very strong, as well as for the service, reputation, and advantage of the Crown. The locality is surrounded for the distance of one mile by a marsh, and by the waters of the sea, which are cut by inaccessible canals. There is a strand of sand on the seaside only, which may be about thirty paces distant from the wall. The besiegers passed along the shore somewhat concealed by the sand and gravel cast up by the sea, and established themselves and their artillery between this strand and the sea, and opened fire. The besiegers were placed below the high-water mark, and if the tide had overflowed the artillery, they must have retired with the loss of it. Your Serenity may now imagine the joy felt by the Queen at the result of this undertaking, which is so beneficial to the kingdom and which has come to pass solely by her will and contrary to the opinion of all the chief ministers. *This event has deprived those of the new religion of all heart*, and it is hoped that the affairs of the Catholics will henceforth, God willing, proceed in better form, and indeed the Catholics themselves seem in high spirits. The King and Queen are to come this morning to the camp, and I intend to go immediately to their Majesties, to congratulate them on so great a victory, and I shall then think of departing hence, because all these parts are infected with plague; nor can one dwell otherwise than in tents in the open country with such inconveniences as usually follow armies.

Lord Warwick is in Havre de Grace wounded by a harquebus shot in the leg; he is the brother of the Lord Robert [Dudley].

The belated fleet under Lord Edward Clinton hove in sight too late to save the situation. The terms of the agreement had already begun to take effect, and Warwick

himself, in miserable plight, had embarked in readiness to make the passage to Portsmouth. Clinton was doubtless disgusted at finding himself too late, but the English account of his behaviour is very different from that supplied by the Venetian Ambassador in his next letter:

MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO TO THE SIGNORY.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. VII.]

ROUEN, *August* 6, 1563.

On the 28th ultimo the English in Havre de Grace agreed to surrender the place to the King, and to embark in four days; then on the 30th July the Admiral of England [Lord Admiral Clinton] appeared in sight of that place, with thirty ships, and five galliots to succour it, not knowing that the capitulation had been already made. The King's artillery was then directed towards the sea, to prevent the Admiral from doing what he intended, and the Admiral became aware he had arrived too late, because the agreement was in part effected, and many of the English garrison had embarked; the King being master of the fort and harbour. So the Admiral was given to understand by his most Christian Majesty, that if he had anything to say, he might land freely, when he would be welcomed and well received; but he replied that he had no other commission but to succour Havre de Grace; and that those within having shown themselves more solicitous to surrender than became them, he would not say more, and thus he set sail the same evening with the fleet, nor is it known in what direction he has gone. The English still left then departed, and the King's army entered on Sunday the 1st of August, some French infantry being left there as a garrison; and the Constable will remain for four or six days to give orders to repair the fortress and for other necessary purposes. The King has retired some leagues from the camp on account of the plague.

What happened on Clinton's arrival was related by the

Admiral himself to Cecil, in a letter describing how, the weather having changed, he had arrived at Havre to find that all was over, and that Warwick himself was on board a transport ready to sail.

The Queen-Mother had sent M. de Lignerolles on board the Admiral's ship with an invitation to dine with her. He excused himself on the plea that he could not leave his men; but he said to Lignerolles "that the plague of deadly infection had done more for them than that which all the force of France could never have done."[1] Before returning to Portsmouth, too, he left ships at Havre to bring off the rest of the garrison. It was from Havre that England caught the plague which now spread its evil shadow over every part of the country. London was the chief sufferer, Camden stating that out of that city alone "there were carried forth to burying about 21,530 corpses." Like most visitations of the kind it was regarded as a punishment from God:

JOHN ABEL TO HENRY BULLINGER.

["*Zurich Letters.*" Second Series.]

LONDON, *August* 24, 1563.

Our Lord God is very angry with us for our ingratitude; for His holy word is daily preached here among us, and we have not loved nor followed the same, nor commended it by our lives: wherefore He has this last year sent a great dearth among us, and now He has sent such a plague and pestilence that in the city which our English took last year in Normandy, some thousands have died so wonderfully by reason of the plague, that our people have quitted the said town, and are returned from thence with all their goods and artillery and arms, &c., by which means the plague is so rife in London, that there are dying by the pestilence five or six hundred a week: and there is reason to fear that if our Lord should not have compassion upon us, it will become yet more prevalent, for it has only just begun. God give us His grace and holy Spirit that we may amend our lives, that His

[1] Froude.

holy name may be praised and magnified thereby; and then will He take away this plague. His holy will be done from henceforth and for evermore. Amen.

The cloud was not without its silver lining for those prisoners in the Tower whose lives were considered worth saving. Lady Catherine Grey and Lord Hertford were both removed from London and placed, the one with her uncle, Lord John Grey of Pyrgo, and the other with his mother, Anne, Duchess of Somerset. Earlier in the year the unlucky lovers, by the birth of another child to Lady Catherine, disclosed the fact that they had found means of further intercourse in the Tower. This, as was to be expected, greatly added to the Queen's vexation. Hertford was fined fifteen thousand pounds for what was regarded as his triple crime—five thousand for seducing a maiden of the blood-royal; five thousand for breaking his prison; and five thousand for repeating his vicious act. Lord John Grey had begged Cecil, to whom he was related by marriage, to remember his niece's "miserable and comfortless state" and do what he could to relieve her. "In faith," he wrote, "I would I were the Queen's confessor this Lent, that I might join her in penance to forgive and forget; or otherwise able to step into the pulpit, to tell her Highness, that God will not forgive her, unless she freely forgive all the world." [1]

It was only the plague, however, which induced Elizabeth to relax her severity later in the year. The Council made it plain to Lord John Grey that his niece was still to be regarded as a prisoner:

Her Majesty's pleasure is that the said lady shall remain with him and his wife as in custody during Her Majesty's pleasure; nor is she to have conference with any person not being of his Lordship's household without their knowledge; which Her Majesty meaneth her to understand and observe as some part of her punishment, and therein Her Majesty meaneth to try her disposition towards obedience. Of their own part, as they wish that she should not

[1] Ellis's "Original Letters." Second Series, Vol. II.

long lack Her Majesty's favour, but recover it by all good means, they heartily pray his Lordship to see that her demeanour in his Lordship's house is the same as if she were in the Tower until she may attain more favour of Her Majesty, for it is true that Her Majesty meant no more by this liberty than to remove her from the danger of the plague, and so they pray his Lordship to let her plainly understand.[1]

Lord John Grey expressed his gratitude to Cecil in the following letter :

LORD JOHN GREY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters.*" Second Series, Vol. II.]

PYRGO, *August* 29, 1563.

Good cousin Cecil, what cause all we have to think ourselves bounden and beholden unto you, the lively fact of your great friendship in the delivery of my niece to my custody are sufficient pledges and tokens for our bondage unto you during our lives. And although I can justly lament the cause of her imprisonment, yet can I not lament thus far forth her being there, because I see it hath been the only means whereby she hath seen herself, known God, and her duty to the Queen ; which when it shall further please the Queen's Majesty to make trial of, I doubt not but my saying, and her doings, shall accord ; in which meantime I shall, according to my Lord Robert's letter, and yours, directed unto me, see all things observed accordingly. Assure yourself (cousin Cecil) she is a penitent and sorrowful woman for the Queen's displeasure, and most humbly and heartily desires you to finish what your friendship begun, for the obtaining of the Queen's favour in the full remission of her fault. This with my wife's hearty commendations and mine to you and my good lady (our cousin) your wife, I bid you most heartily farewell.

By your loving Cousin, and assured poor friend during life, JOHN GREY.

[1] Hatfield MSS., I., p. 280.

Lady Catherine's hopes were cruelly raised by her removal from the Tower. No words are needed to add to the pathos of the three ensuing documents—her letter to Cecil shortly after arriving at Pyrgo, her later petition to the Queen, and one of many letters from Lord John Grey himself on her woeful state of mind and body:

LADY CATHERINE GREY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters.*" Second Series, Vol. II.]

PYRGO, *September* 3, 1563.

Good cousin Cecil: after my very hearty commendations to my good cousin your wife and you, with like thanks for your great friendship showed me in this my lord's delivery and mine, with the obtaining of the Queen's Majesty's most gracious favour thus farforth extended towards us, I cannot but acknowledge myself bounden and beholding unto you therefore; and as I am sure you doubt not of mine own dear lord's good will for the requital thereof to the uttermost of his power, so I beseech you, good cousin Cecil, make the like account of me during life to the uttermost of my power; beseeching your further friendship for the obtaining of the Queen's Majesty's most gracious pardon and favour towards me, which with upstretched hands and downbent knees, from the bottom of my heart, most humbly I crave. Thus resting in prayer for the Queen's Majesty's long reign over us, the forgiveness of mine offence, the short enjoying of my own dear lord and husband, with assured hope, through God's grace, and your good help, and my Lord Robert, for the enjoying of the Queen's Highness's favour in that behalf, I bid now, my own good cousin, most heartily farewell.

Your assured friend and cousin to my small power,

CATHERINE HERTFORD.

LORD JOHN GREY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters.*" Second Series, Vol. II.]

PYRGO, *September* 20, 1563.

My good cousin Cecil, the only desire and care that my lady hath of the Queen's Majesty's favour

enforceth these few lines, as nature bindeth me to put you in remembrance of your offered friendship and great good will, already showed, to the full perfecting of the Queen's Majesty's favour in my niece. I assure you cousin Cecil (as I have written unto my Lord Robert) the thought and care she taketh for the want of her Highness's favour, pines her away: before God I speak it, if it come not the sooner she will not long live thus; she eateth not above six morsels in the meal. If I say unto her, "Good madam, eat somewhat to comfort yourself," she falls aweeping and goeth up to her chamber; if I ask her what the cause is she useth herself in that sort, she answers me, "Alas, Uncle, what a life is this to me, thus to live in the Queen's displeasure; but for my lord, and my children, I would to God I were buried." Good cousin Cecil, as time places, and occasion may serve, ease her of this woeful grief and sorrow, and rid me of this life, which I assure you grieveth me even at the heart's roots. Thus beseeching God in this His visitation, to preserve us with His stretched-out arm, and send us, merely to meet, I salute you and my lady with my wife's most hearty commendations and mine.

By your loving cousin and assured poor friend during my life,

JOHN GREY.

LADY CATHERINE'S PETITION TO THE QUEEN.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters.*" Second Series, Vol. II.]

PYRGO, *November* 6, 1563.

I dare not presume most gracious Sovereign, to crave pardon for my disobedient and rash matching of myself, without your Highness's consent; I only most humbly sue unto your Highness to continue your merciful nature toward me. I acknowledge myself a most unworthy creature to feel so much of your gracious favour as I have done. My justfelt misery and continual grief doth teach me daily, more

and more, the greatness of my fault, and your princely pity increaseth my sorrow, that have so forgotten my duty towards your Majesty. This is my great torment of mind. May it therefore please your excellent Majesty to license me to be a most lowly suitor unto your Highness to extend toward my miserable state your Majesty's further favour and accustomed mercy, which upon my knees in all humble wise I crave, with my daily prayers to God, long to continue and preserve your Majesty's Reign over us.

Your Majesty's most humble bounden and obedient subject.

But Elizabeth was rarely, if ever, moved to tenderness, and, as will shortly be seen, was not encouraged to mercy by Lord Grey's share in John Hales' book on the succession question, published about this time (see p. 308). When danger from the plague was over we find both husband and wife back again at the Tower, though, as before, in separate lodgings, and death alone was able to give Catherine her freedom. The only changes allowed her were for the benefit of her health, when she would occasionally be removed to Cockfield Hall, the country seat of Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower. It was at this place that she died, on January 27, 1568. Her death led to her husband's release from the Tower later in the same year, though he remained for some time in easy custody in various country houses. Meantime, while the plague lasted in London, the Queen withdrew her Court to Windsor, where she found relief from the cares of State by enjoying great sport in the forest, as Dudley informed Archbishop Parker, in sending him "a fat stag killed with her own hand."[1] Perhaps this was sent because of a sly remark in one of the Archbishop's letters earlier in the year, pointing out that Queen Anne Boleyn used to send him bucks from her park at Canterbury. "Marry," he added, "I doubt in these days whether bishops or ministers may be thought worthy to eat venison; I will hold me to my beef, and make merry therewith, and pray for all my benefactors."[2]

[1] Parker Correspondence, p. 190.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

CHAPTER VIII

LEICESTER AND MARY STUART

Elizabeth's New Matrimonial Negotiations—Cecil Philosophizes—Fears of a French Invasion—Mary and Lord Robert Dudley—Peace Declared Between England and France—John Hales' Book on the Succession—Reception of the New Spanish Ambassador—Elizabeth's Anxiety Regarding Mary Stuart's Marriage—Dudley Again Seeks Spanish Support for His Alliance with Elizabeth—Darnley and His Mother at Court—Her Majesty's Visit to Cambridge—Coolness between Elizabeth and Mary—Melville's Mission to the English Court—Dudley Disclaims Responsibility for his Proposed Marriage with Mary—Melville's Famous Interview with Elizabeth—Dudley created Earl of Leicester—Elizabeth Plays a Trick on Guzman—She Declares Herself a Catholic at heart—Young King of France a Suitor for Elizabeth's Hand—Mary Stuart, Leicester, and Darnley—Cecil's Despair—The Thames Frozen Over—Guzman's Opinion of Cecil and Leicester—Was Mary Willing to Marry Leicester?—Her Promise to Randolph—Randolph's Congratulations to Leicester—His Consternation on Hearing of Darnley's Permission to Enter Scotland—Darnley's Arrival and Reception—Bothwell's Uninvited Return and Departure.

ALTHOUGH the death of the Spanish Ambassador, as well as that of the Emperor Ferdinand, had afforded Elizabeth temporary relief from the eternal marriage problem, the strained relations between England and France, and the possibility that Mary might step in if she retired altogether, soon made it advisable again to renew negotiations for the hand of the Archduke Charles. The new year, too, brought a new suitor upon the scene—the famous Duke Hans Casimir, second son of the Elector Palatine, who sent his portrait to her by James Melville, then in his father's diplomatic service. Melville demurred, declaring he had heard that Elizabeth knew herself incapable of bearing a child, alleging besides her determination that she "would never subject herself to any man." Eventually, however, he consented to sound the Queen on the subject while ostensibly visiting her for some other purpose, with the result, as he explains at length in his Memoirs, that he

discovered "that first and last she despised the said Duke Casimir." There is something definitive about that decision which is refreshing to the student of Elizabeth's courtships. The early months of 1564 were largely spent in patching up the differences between England and France, the success of the negotiations being seriously endangered by the unseemly squabbles between the two English Ambassadors, Throckmorton and Smith. So bitter was the hatred between these two ambassadors that it came to drawing daggers when they discussed the final terms of peace. They had been quarrelling on this occasion as to whether they should stand out for the 500,000 crowns on Elizabeth's account for the non-restoration of Calais, or accept the French terms of 120,000 crowns for the return of their hostages. Why "haggle any longer for money?" asked Throckmorton angrily, when the Queen-Mother already knew that they had another commission to agree to her sum. Smith wanted to know how she came to understand that. "'Marry, you told her,' said he to me," wrote Smith in recounting the incident to Cecil. "'I told her?' quoth I, 'why or how should I tell her, when I know not of it myself? And yet if I had known it, what pleasure or profit should I have by telling her of it?' 'Thou liest,' saith he, 'like an whoreson traitor as thou art!' 'A whoreson traitor! Nay thou liest,' quoth I, 'I am as true to the Queen as thou any day in the week, and have done Her Highness as faithful and good service as thou.' Hereupon Sir Nicholas drew his dagger and poured out such terms as his malicious stomach and furious rage had in store, and called me errant knave, beggarly knave, traitor, and such other injuries as came next to hand out of his good store. I drew my dagger also, Mr. Somers stepped betwixt us, but as he pressed with his dagger to come near me, I bade him stand back and not come no nearer to me, or I would cause him to stand back, and give him such a mark as his bedlam furious head did deserve." Sir Nicholas's tongue proved readier than his hand, according to this account, and with many other frothy words the incident ended. Cecil sided with his old friend, Sir Thomas Smith, who in the end, remained in France—to bring about in due

course that new friendship with that kingdom which was to play so large a part in England's future foreign policy —while Throckmorton, gladly enough, returned to England. Cecil early this year wrote a letter to Smith in which the man himself, as well as the Secretary of State, stands revealed with singular clearness:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

January 11, 1564.

Sir,

I have much cause to thank you for your friendly dealing with me, and as much or more cause to praise you for your open and plain dealing, which I assure you on my faith I do allow more in you than any other point of your friendship. I love wisdom and honour it, but when slights and crinks are joined therewith, as I am sorry sometimes to see, commonly thereof followeth infinite incommodities both to the party that useth them, and to them also that are therewith advised. I know the place which I hold hath been of years not long passed, adjudged a shop for cunning men, and yet surely I think the opinion commonly conceived thereof hath been worse than the persons deserved. Some cause I have so to think, that, knowing before Almighty God my disposition to deal with all men plainly, and indeed my inability, or as I may say of myself my dullness to invent crafts, yet do I not escape evil judgment, desirous to avoid as much as I may that opinion; and where I cannot, content with patience and testimony of my own conscience to endure. But behold I am entering at a large gate, to behold mine own misery, which, to avoid giving you trouble I will not pursue now. To yourself I will now come; you have not been well used, but by whom perchance you may know better than I. You have been also well used, and of whom I will not speak, considering I know no man hath done more than honesty and reason would. . . . God amend them that, meaning

to make traps of malice, are for the more part trapped themselves. I shall speak like an Italian idiot! God send them both to amend, and to do as I would myself, and this I say with the testimony of a good conscience; which mind I gather not of any other philosophy, but of His precepts, that hath commanded me to love my enemies, for therein only is the difference between a Christian and a gentile. For yourself I need give you no counsel, but I wish you to have the like mind. For when all the glory and wit, when all the wealth and delight of this world is passed, we must come before that Judge that will exact this rule of us, to discern us from the gentiles. Good Mr. Smith, take my low base style in this fond mood in good part, and behold it not with the wisdom of the world, for though my outward actions are most commonly in public things of the world, yet, I thank God, I do submit all my conceits and thoughts as mere folly, to the wisdom and piety of the Gospel. You may say it is strange to see a Secretary of State, that is an artificer of practices and counsels, to fall thus low into divinity. Well, so simple I am, whatsoever the world may judge of me for the place, and therein perchance I do deceive the world.

Now shortly to our matter: you are willed to make peace, but the means are prescribed, which I and others thought unlikely three months past: but now I find divers here persuade themselves with the contrary. Surely you shall have good luck and great praise, and therefore labour it. I was glad this bearer should come to give a testimony of your diligence, faith, and wisdom, for so shall he do you much pleasure. And although the matter seem hard, yet forbear not to use all means to recover it, wherein, being obtained, your praise shall be the greater, and being not, yet they which have desired it shall think your labour well bestowed. Indeed if our other neighbour on that side the seas were as inward a friend as reason would even for his own

interest, I then would not doubt of this good end. But as this bearer shall show you, the case is otherwise. I heartily thank you for the Polydore, and for Onuphrius : Onuphrius' works I had recovered here before, but Polydore not. If you please the Onuphrius shall be kept for yourself, or if I may know the price, I will gladly pay for them.

The nervous state of the country at this period may be judged by Archbishop Parker's fears of a French invasion, and the inability of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports to ease the public mind on the subject, the castles on the coast being forsaken, and the people themselves unarmed :

ARCHBISHOP PARKER TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

["*Correspondence of Matthew Parker.*"]

CANTERBURY, *February* 6, 1564.

After my hearty commendations to your honour. Sir, I must request the same to be an instant mean (for special respect of our country here) to the Queen's Majesty and her Council. I assure your honour, I fear the danger, if it be not speedily looked to, will be irrecuperable. If the enemy have an entry, as by great considerations of our weakness and their strength, of their vigilancy and our dormitation and protraction, is like, the Queen's Majesty shall never be able to leave to her successor that which she found delivered her by God's favourable hand. Posts and letters with requests be sent, but little return is made, as I hear, and small aid and comfort cometh to my lord Warden, a good gentleman and meaneth honourably, but what can a man do more than may be done by a man almost destitute of men, money, and armour, &c. ?

These early months of 1564 were also big with weighty matters in Scotland, where Randolph was doing his best to sound Mary Stuart on the pressing question of a husband. Nothing in the shape of serious negotiations had occurred in connexion with the Dudley plan since Elizabeth had astonished Lethington with the offer of her favourite's hand,

but Randolph was now instructed to persuade Mary, if possible, to leave the question of her marriage to Elizabeth, who would be as good as a mother to her. Vague assurances as to Elizabeth's real intentions only succeeded in bringing matters to a standstill, but her maiden Majesty was at length compelled specifically to state that Dudley was really the husband she had in view for the Queen of Scots. Mary herself professed to be taken at a disadvantage with this news. "I thought little of any such matter as you now propound. . . . Is it conformable to her promise to use me as a sister or daughter, to marry me to a subject? . . . What if the Queen my sister should herself marry and have children; what have I then gotten?" However, she agreed to talk the matter over with Murray and Lethington. "Lethington was long with her Grace that night," added Randolph in his letter to Cecil of March 30, "and next morning I received this answer from him, with great protestation of his mistress's good meaning, without fraud or mind of evil—that the matter came upon her unlooked for, and being of great importance could not straight be answered. As she could not with honour in so short advertisement grant it, so would she not so little esteem it as straight reject it: and therefore desired to have further knowledge what the Queen's Majesty would do, what should be the conditions, and what the assurance. For the person himself she could have no misliking of him, of whom the report was so good, and by her good sister was so recommended."[1] Elizabeth, however, had no intention of making any definite promise that Mary's right to the succession—the crux of the whole matter—would be acknowledged even with the Dudley marriage, preferring her old policy of fair words and uncertain promises. "Gentle letters, good words, and pleasant messages, be good means to begin friendship among princes, but I take them to be slender bands to hold it long fast," complained Lethington to Cecil in June, in urging that with frank dealing the affair would "sooner a great deal grow to a conclusion."[2] There was some excuse for the delay perhaps while England's negotiations with France were hanging in the balance, but

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 56—8.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 66—7.

all anxiety on that score was quieted in April by the conclusion of the Peace of Troyes on the 11th of that month with the tardy acceptance of the French offer to pay 60,000 crowns within six weeks, and a further 60,000 six weeks later:

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

April 27, 1564.

Sir,

Mr. Somers and Mauvissière came to Windsor the 20th of this month, and the treaty must take place the 23rd, which was a very short time to procure knowledge to our western sea coasts, or to Ireland, but what could be done in such a case was expedited. It was proclaimed in London the 22nd, and on the 23rd a notable good sermon made at Pooles [St. Paul's] with *Te Deum* and all incident solemnities. The same day it was published at Windsor, in the Queen's Majesty's presence going to the Church, having with her Majesty the French ambassador, so as nothing wanted to show content, and yet her Majesty, inwardly to me and other her counsellors, showed much misliking, specially, as I guess, because the money was no more, for honour's sake.

On that day the French King was chosen of the Order [of the Garter] and so was the Earl of Bedford, and Sir Henry Sidney. I think my Lord of Hunsdon shall bring the Order into France, and so shall have commission to require the oath jointly with you. The treaties are in new writing and engrossing, to be here ratified. Wherein all the haste is made that can be, because Mr. Throckmorton's return dependeth thereupon. . . .

Here is fallen out a troublesome fond matter. John Hales[1] had secretly made a book in the time of the last parliament, wherein he hath taken upon him to

[1] "A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England." Its object was to throw aside the Scottish line, and to support the legality of the marriage of Lady Catherine Grey, whose son, in that case, would inherit the Suffolk claim to the royal succession.

discuss no small matter, viz. the title to this crown, after the Queen's Majesty, having confuted and rejected the line of the Scottish Queen, and made the line of the Lady Frances, mother to the Lady Catherine, only next and lawful. He is committed to the Fleet for this boldness, especially because he hath communicated it to sundry persons. My Lord John Grey is in trouble also for it. Besides this, John Hales hath procured sentences and counsels of lawyers from beyond the seas to be written in maintenance of the Earl of Hertford's marriage.

This dealing of his offendeth the Queen's Majesty very much. God give her Majesty by this chance a disposition to consider hereof, that either by her marriage, or by some common order, we poor subjects may know where to lean and adventure our lives with content of our consciences.

At the writing hereof I am here at Westminster, attending of that mine office in the wards, and so pestered with business as I am forced to make this letter serve both to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and you.

Yours assured,
W. Cecil.

Don Diego Guzman de Silva, Dean of Toledo, the Spanish Ambassador appointed to succeed the late Bishop Quadra, arrived at his difficult post in the midst of the excitement caused by the publication of this book by the injudicious clerk of the hanaper, John Hales. The book was believed to have been written with the knowledge, if not the help, of Sir Nicholas Bacon and his brother-in-law Cecil himself, and the Catholics were eager that the hated Secretary should be made the chief scapegoat for the affair. Hales himself was imprisoned in the Fleet for six months; Bacon was reprimanded, and Lord John Grey, Lady Catherine's uncle, was kept under arrest until his death some months later. But, as Guzman says, the Queen stopped at that, finding "so many accomplices in the offence that they must overlook it." At a later date he was told "for certain" that the Queen on no account

desired the declaration of a successor. "She does not want anyone to whom her subjects could go secretly and offer their devotion as they came to her when she was a prisoner."[1]

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *June* 27, 1564.

As I wrote to your Majesty, I arrived in London on the 18th instant, and on the following day, the Queen sent a gentleman of her chamber to visit me, and congratulate me on my arrival in this country, with many compliments and courtesies. Lord Robert had previously sent and made me a similar visit, which I returned by one of my people on the Tuesday, thanking him for having borne me in mind. I asked through him an audience of the Queen, which he obtained at once, and fixed the 22nd for it to take place. I left London for Richmond where the Court now is and disembarked near the palace, finding awaiting me on the riverbank Dudley, a relative of Lord Robert, who was in the French service, and a brother-in-law of Throckmorton, who accompanied me to the palace, and conducted me to the Council Chamber. Presently there came to me on behalf of the Queen Lord Darnley, the son of Lady Margaret Lennox, who led me to the door of the presence chamber, where I was met by the Lord Chamberlain, who entered with me and accompanied me to the Queen. She was standing in the chamber listening to a keyed instrument that was being played, and, as soon as she saw me, took three or four steps towards me and embraced me. Addressing me in the Italian language she said she did not know in what tongue to speak to me, and I answered her in Latin, with a brief discourse, a copy of which I send to Gonzalo Perez [the King's Secretary] as it is written in that language. I then handed her your Majesty's letter, which she took and gave to Cecil to open. When it

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 374.

was opened he handed it back to her, and she read it and answered me in Latin with elegance, facility and ease, appearing to be very glad of my coming, and saying how much she had desired it, both for the sake of having news of your Majesty and to have a Minister of your Majesty near her, as there were some friendly countries trying to make her believe that your Majesty would never again have a representative here, and she was glad that they had turned out false prophets. She said I should be treated and considered in accord with the deep interest which, for many reasons, she took in your Majesty's affairs. After asking after your Majesty's health she took me aside and asked me very minutely about the Prince—his health and disposition, and afterwards about the Princess,[1] saying how much she should like to see her, and how well so young a widow and a maiden would get on together, and what a pleasant life they could lead. She (the Queen) being the elder would be the husband, and her Highness the wife. She dwelt upon this for a time, talking now in Italian, which she speaks well, and, as if by the way, asked me about the Queen, and then turned the conversation to your Majesty, and how you had seen her when she was sorrowful, distressed, and ill-treated, imprisoned, and afflicted, and how she had grown greatly since then, and even gave me to understand that she had greatly changed in her appearance since that time. After she had said a great deal about this and other things of a similar sort, I gave her the letters from the Duchess of Parma, and conveyed her Highness' good wishes to her, to which she replied graciously, and then touched somewhat upon the affairs of the States, and even referred to the matter of the ill-treatment of the sailors at Gibralter. I only told her that I did not give any answer to that, as I wished to spend all the time in the pleasure of hearing of the

[1] Juana, the widowed princess of Portugal, younger sister of Philip. She had been regent of Spain during the absence of Charles V. and Philip from the Peninsula.—Hume.

friendship and affection which she entertained towards your Majesty; and on another day I would give her a full account of everything, so that she should see that not only did your Majesty show kindness and brotherhood towards her, but that your subjects, seeing this, showed the same by their deeds, which was more than could be said of some of her subjects. She answered that when I liked, and as often as I liked, she would hear me with pleasure, and we could then deal with this matter. She urged me very much to use my best offices with your Majesty, and assure you of her good will, as she had been given to understand that this had not always been done by other ministers, and this might perhaps have caused your Majesty some annoyance without any fault of hers, or any cause on her part; as she had given, and would give, none. With this she embraced me again, and retired to her apartment, telling me to talk to the lords who were there. They approached me as soon as she had retired, and Lord Robert, the Earl of Pembroke, the Admiral, the Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Chamberlain, and Secretary Cecil, came separately and embraced me, congratulating me on my arrival and expressing their pleasure. They asked after your Majesty and I replied by assuring them of the favour you desired to extend to them, and your affection for this country and the principal people in it. I then took my leave, the Lord Chamberlain remaining with me to conduct me to the door of the antechamber, and thence Lady Margaret's son, and the brother-in-law of Throckmorton, with a gentleman of the household of the Queen, accompanied me to the landing-place.

A great friend of Lord Robert has been to visit me on his behalf, and has informed me of the great enmity that exists between Cecil and Lord Robert, even before this book about the succession was published, but now very much more, as he believes Cecil to be the author of the book, and the Queen is extremely angry about it, although she signifies that there are

so many accomplices in the offence that they must overlook it, and has begun to slacken in the matter. This person has asked me from Robert with great secrecy to take an opportunity in speaking to the Queen (or to make such opportunity) to urge her not to fail in adopting strong measures in this business, as if Cecil were out of the way, the affairs of your Majesty would be more favourably dealt with, and religious questions as well, because this Cecil and his friends are those who persecute the Catholics and dislike your Majesty, whereas the other man is looked upon as faithful, and the rest of the Catholics so consider him, and have adopted him as their weapon. If the Queen would disgrace Cecil it would be a great good to them, and this man tried to persuade me to make use of Robert. I answered him that I intended to avail myself of him in all things, and I was quite sure your Majesty would be pleased that I should do so. With regard to this particular business, also, I would be glad to do as Robert desired. I shall act with caution in the matter and see how I had better proceed, although I have advice reaching me from all sides, and particularly from Catholics, that this punishment should be pressed upon the Queen.

The amiable, courtly Guzman soon became a great favourite with Elizabeth, who not only liked him personally but also found it still advisable to trim her sails in his master's direction:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *July* 10, 1564.

When I arrived at the house where the Queen was they showed me into a room until her Majesty knew of my arrival. She was walking in the garden with her ladies, and sent the Lord Chamberlain for me to go to her. She raised me with a great show of pleasure, and said that her ardent wish to see me had caused her to give me this trouble, and that

I was to forget that the Queen was there, and look upon her as a private lady, the preparations not being hers but those of a friend and subject, although the house was well prepared and her nobles were round her. I answered that wherever monarchs were there was their regal state, as I perceived in this case. We then went up into a very large gallery, where she took me aside for nearly an hour, all her talk being about your Majesty, and on several occasions during the conversation she recalled events that had occurred when she had first come to the throne, telling them so minutely that I will not tire your Majesty by repeating them. She was so taken up with it that I think she was sorry when supper was announced. Speaking of France, she said that she had received a letter written in Lyons, from the Queen, brought by her (the French) Ambassador that morning, who had arrived at dinner-time, and had had to wait. This was, I think, to satisfy me that she had not asked him to dinner. We then went to supper, which was served with great ceremony, as is usual here, and every attention and honour was shown to me. She ordered her musicians to play the Battle of Pavia, which she assured me was the music she enjoyed most. After supper she stayed talking to me for some time, and as it was already late I thought it was time to leave her. I was about to take my leave when she told me not to go yet, as she wished me to see a comedy that was to be acted. She said she would go into her chamber for a short time, and in the meanwhile Lord Robert was to entertain me.

Robert made me great offers of service, saying how bound he was to your Majesty, both on account of the favours you had done him, and because you had been his Sovereign. I thanked him as well as I could.

The Queen came out to the hall, which was lit with many torches, where the comedy was represented. I should not have understood much of it if

the Queen had not interpreted, as she told me she would do. They generally deal with marriage in the comedies, and she turned to me and asked again about your Majesty, and whether the Prince (Don Carlos) had grown. I told her he had, and after thinking awhile she said, "Well, everyone disdains me; I understand he is to be married to the Queen of Scots." I said, "Do not believe it your Majesty. His Highness has been so ill with constant fever and other maladies of late years, that it has been impossible to think of his marriage, but now that he is well again people talk of these matters without knowledge. It is no new thing for great princes to be the subjects of gossip." "So true is that," said the Queen, "that they said in London the other day that the King, my brother, was sending an Ambassador to treat of the marriage of the Prince with me!"

The comedy ended, and then there was a masque of certain gentlemen who entered dressed in black and white, which the Queen told me were her colours, and after dancing awhile one of them approached and handed the Queen a sonnet in English, praising her. She told me what it said, and I expressed my pleasure at it. This ended the feast, and the Queen entered a gallery, where there was a very long table with every sort and kind of preserves and candied fruits that can be imagined, according to the English custom. It must have been two in the morning, and the Queen had to return to Westminster by water, although it was very windy. She sent me back to my lodgings accompanied by the same gentleman as had brought me, as I had come by land.

The reference to Don Carlos discloses something of Elizabeth's anxiety lest Mary Stuart should become Philip's daughter-in-law. This was Mary's highest ambition, but Philip had now abandoned that idea. "As to the Queen of Scots," he wrote to Guzman in August, "I understand that

Cardinal Lorraine has offered this marriage to the Emperor for the Archduke Charles, and for this and other sufficient reasons the proposal to marry the said Queen to my son Carlos must now be considered at an end."[1] With regard to Elizabeth and Dudley the new Ambassador was instructed to follow on the lines previously laid down for his predecessor. Lord Robert had already taken Guzman into his confidence, and was as ready as ever to sell his soul if Philip would support his suit to marry the Queen. "In case he assures you," wrote Philip, "that if he succeeds he will reduce the kingdom to our true, ancient Catholic religion, and obedience to the Pope, you may promise him that we will readily help and favour him, and with this aim and object you will keep as cordial and friendly with him as you can, although at the same time you must discover from him if he has any other engagements to support him and where and from whom he expects to obtain help besides from me."[2]

Perhaps it was with a view of using Darnley as a possible trail across the path of Mary's matrimonial plans that Elizabeth had now temporarily restored her uncertain favour to Lady Margaret Lennox and her son. Both Lady Margaret and her husband had been released more than a year ago, when they had returned to Settrington, in Yorkshire, to set their long forsaken house in order. Elizabeth asked and obtained Mary's license for Lennox's return to Scotland in order to attend to his affairs there, and was then mean enough to request Mary in secret to stay his permit for a year, on the plea that his return would offend his own friends in Scotland. This piece of double-dealing failed of its purpose, and brought indignant letters on the subject from Mary and Lethington. To the Countess and Darnley Elizabeth showed high regard. We find them both at Court this summer with Darnley carrying the sword before her Majesty on State occasions, and Lady Margaret herself, on July 6, standing godmother with the Queen to Cecil's infant daughter Elizabeth. An additional honour was shown to Cecil in the following month of August when the Queen paid her visit to the University of Cambridge, of which he had been Chancellor since 1559. Her splendid

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 371.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 371—2.

entertainment, with its mixture of solemn orations, disputations, and pagan plays, has been fully set forth in the "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth." Guzman furnishes a curious footnote to John Nichols's record:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *August* 19, 1564.

When the Queen was at Cambridge they represented comedies and held scientific disputations, and an argument on religion, in which the man who defended Catholicism was attacked by those who presided, in order to avoid having to give him the prize. The Queen made a speech praising the acts and exercises, and they wished to give her another representation, which she refused, in order to be no longer delayed. Those who were so anxious for her to hear it, followed her to her first stopping-place, and so importuned her that at last she consented. The actors came in dressed as some of the imprisoned Bishops. First came the Bishop of London carrying a lamb in his hands, as if he were eating it as he walked along, and then others with different devices, one being in the figure of a dog with the Host in his mouth. They write that the Queen was so angry that she at once entered her chamber, using strong language, and the men who held the torches, it being night, left them in the dark, and so ended the thoughtless and scandalous representation.

Guzman soon realised how matters stood between Elizabeth and Mary. On September 4 he wrote that instructions had been sent "to keep a sharp look-out on affairs in Scotland as, although the two Queens correspond and keep each other in play until one or the other of them shows her hand, they both go in fear and will give but short grace."[1] A dangerous coolness had sprung up between them because of the tone of Mary's letters on the subject of the recall of Lennox. Having taken into her service the returned James Melville—he had been her page

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 377.

in her childhood days in France—Mary sent him to London to smooth matters with Elizabeth. We have it on Melville's authority that she secretly charged him at the same time to deal with Darnley's mother, and "to purchase leave for him to pass to Scotland." The envoy arrived at the English Court early in October, and was soon asked anxiously by Dudley what the Queen of Scots thought of him, and of the proposed marriage. "Whereunto," writes Melville in his oft-quoted "Memoirs," "I answered very coldly, as I had been by my Queen commanded. Then he began to purge himself of so proud a pretence as to marry so great a Queen, declaring that he did not esteem himself worthy to wipe her shoes, and that the invitation of that proposition of marriage proceeded from Mr. Cecil, his secret enemy: 'For if I,' said he, 'should have appeared desirous of that marriage, I should have offended both the Queens, and lost their favour.'" Which only shows how difficult it is to arrive at the truth when almost everyone concerned was a pastmaster in the art of dissembling. Of Melville's interviews with the Queen he has himself left in his "Memoirs" the intimate account which students of the period must now know by heart. Even so, it is impossible to resist using part of it to complete this connecting link between the letters of Guzman de Silva:

The old friendship being renewed, Elizabeth inquired if the Queen had sent any answer to the proposition of marriage made to her by Mr. Randolph. I answered, as I had been instructed, that my mistress thought little or nothing thereof, but attended the meeting of some commissioners upon the borders . . . . to confer and treat upon all such matters of greatest importance, as should be judged to concern the quiet of both countries, and the satisfaction of both their majesties' minds. Adding, "the Queen my mistress is minded, as I have said, to send for her part my Lord of Murray, and the Secretary Lethington, and expects your Majesty will send my Lord of Bedford and my Lord Robert Dudley." She answered, it appeared I

made but small account of my Lord Robert, seeing I named the Earl of Bedford before him, but that erelong she would make him a far greater earl, and that I should see it done before my returning home. For she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married had she ever minded to have taken a husband. But being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished the Queen her sister might marry him, as meetest of all other with whom she could find in her heart to declare her second person. For being matched with him, it would remove out of her mind all fears and suspicions, to be offended by any usurpation before her death, being assured that he was so loving and trusty that he would never suffer any such thing to be attempted during her time. And that the Queen my mistress might have the higher esteem of him, I was required to stay till I should see him made Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh ; which was done at Westminster with great solemnity, the Queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial (mantle), he sitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him, the French ambassador and I standing by. Then she turned, asking me how I liked him ? I answered, that as he was a worthy servant, so he was happy, who had a princess who could discern and reward good service. "Yet," says she, "you like better of yonder long lad," pointing towards my Lord Darnley, who, as nearest prince of the blood, did bear the sword of honour that day before her.

She appeared to be so affectionate to the Queen her good sister that she expressed a great desire to see her. And because their so much by her desired meeting could not so hastily be brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her Majesty's picture. She took me to her bed-chamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and their names

written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up was written "My lord's picture." I held the candle, and pressed to see that picture so named; she appeared loath to let me see it, yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and I found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture. I desired that I might have it to carry home to my Queen, which she refused, alleging that she had but that one picture of his. I said, "Your Majesty hath here the original," for I perceived him at the furthest part of the chamber, speaking with Secretary Cecil. Then she took out the Queen's picture, and kissed it, and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love evidenced therein to my mistress. She showed me also a fair ruby, as great as a tennis-ball; I desired that she would send either it, or my Lord of Leicester's picture, as a token to my Queen. She said that if the Queen would follow her counsel, she would in process of time get all that she had; that in the meantime she was resolved in a token to send her with me a fair diamond. It was at this time late after supper; she appointed me to be with her the next morning by eight of the clock, at which time she used to walk in her garden. . . .

At divers meetings we had divers purposes. The Queen my mistress had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise she should be wearied; she being well informed of that Queen's natural temper. Therefore in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the women were not forgot, and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The Queen said she had clothes of every sort, which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me, which of them became her best? I answered, in my judgment the Italian dress; which answer I found pleased her well, for she delighted to show her golden

coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was rather reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally.

She desired to know of me what colour of hair was reputed best, and whether my Queen's hair or hers was best, and which of them two was fairest? I answered, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I judged fairest? I said, she was the fairest Queen in England, and mine in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, they were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her Majesty was whiter, but my Queen was very lovely. She enquired which of them was of highest stature? I said, "My Queen." "Then," saith she, "she is too high, for I myself am neither too high nor too low." Then she asked what exercises she used? I answered that when I received my dispatch, the Queen was lately come from the Highland hunting. That when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories: that sometimes she recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals. She asked if she played well? I said, "Reasonably, for a Queen."

That same day after dinner, my Lord of Hunsdon drew me up to a quiet gallery that I might hear some music, but he said he durst not avow it, where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After I had harkened awhile, standing by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I ventured within the chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well; but she left off immediately, so soon as she turned about and saw me. She appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand, alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there? I answered, as I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdon, as we passed by the chamber door, I heard such

melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how, excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the Court of France, where such freedom was allowed; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me, for so great an offence. Then she sat down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her, but with her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee, which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my Lady Stafford out of the next chamber, for the Queen was alone. She enquired whether my Queen or she played best? In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise. She said my French was very good, and asked if I could speak Italian, which she spoke reasonably well. I told her Majesty I had no time to learn the language, not having been above two months in Italy. Then she spake to me in Dutch, which was not good; and would know what kind of books I most delighted in, whether theology, history, or love matters? I said I liked well of all the sorts. Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch: she said I was sooner weary of her company than she was of mine. I told her Majesty that though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress's affairs called me home. Yet I was stayed two days longer, that I might see her dance, as I was afterward informed. Which being over, she enquired of me whether she or my Queen danced best? I answered, the Queen danced not so highly or disposedly as she did. Then again she wished that she might see the Queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly to Scotland by post, cloathed like a page, that under this disguise she might see the Queen, as James V. had gone in disguise with his own ambassador to see the Duke of Vendôme's sister, who should have been his wife; telling her that her chamber might be kept in her absence, as though she were sick; that none need be privy thereto except Lady Stafford, and one of the grooms of her chamber.

She appeared to like that kind of language, only answering it with a sigh, saying, "Alas, if I might do it thus!"

Guzman now resumes the narrative with a delightful instance of the manner in which the maiden Queen loved to try her blandishments on the new Ambassador:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *September* 23, 1564.

As your Highness knows, the Marchioness of Northampton[1] is a great favourite of the Queen, and I am gaining the goodwill of her intimates, so as to gain more influence over her mistress. She is a person of great understanding, and is so much esteemed by the Queen that some little friction exists between her and Robert. I understand, however, that she bears herself towards him in a way that, together with other things that can be better imagined than described, makes me doubt sometimes whether Robert's position is so irregular as many think. It is nothing for princes to hear evil, even without giving any cause for it.

Before the Queen came back I went to visit the Marchioness of Northampton, and when I was taking my leave she said she had something important to say to me, which she must defer to another day, and in consequence of the return here of the Queen, I did not go again for six or seven days, when on the 15th instant I sent to ask after the Marchioness' indisposition, and if I could visit her that afternoon. She sent to say that she should be delighted, and I went by water to Westminster, where she lives, and there found the Queen, who had gone over from St.

[1] The Marchioness was a daughter of Lord Cobham, and had been married in her early youth to William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, brother of Queen Catherine Parr. A doubtfully legal divorce had been previously obtained by him from his former wife, and his second marriage had been declared invalid in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth had recognised it, but was quite ready to throw the matter in his teeth when angry.—Hume.

James's to dine with her almost alone, and was there when I had sent word, as I afterwards found out. They played me this trick between them, and kept the secret until I was in the Queen's presence, and then laughed greatly at it. I was there until almost night, the Marchioness on her couch, and the Queen near her. What passed were mostly tales told by the Queen and ordinary conversation, into which she was constantly slipping some slight allusions to marriage. I told her she was wrong to keep the world in suspense, and ought to decide. She laughed and said she had something to say to me about our business, and on her return at nightfall to St. James's through the park she went on foot, although she had a carriage waiting, and took me part of the way with her. On the way she said that a fool who was about there had advised her never to marry a German, as they were bad men. She spoke about nothing else, and made me turn back, so that I might return by water, as I had come.

I learn on good authority that Lord Robert has no chance, and the talk is now all about the Archduke. The Queen has even said something about visiting the Emperor.

After Melville's visit Guzman learnt that Elizabeth had told that Ambassador among other things, "that she was not so old yet that they need continually keep her death before her eyes by talking about the succession"; but that Parliament should deal with the question when it sat.[1] Elizabeth now sought to convince Guzman himself that in spite of her outward Protestantism she was a Catholic at heart—"but not so clearly as I could have wished," he added in mentioning this incident:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

October 9, 1564.

As I have advised, Cecil's favour has been wavering, but he knows how to please, and avoids

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 387.

saying things the Queen does not wish to hear, and above all, as I am told, can flatter her, so he has kept his place, and things are in the same position as formerly. Robert makes the best of it. The outward demonstrations are fair, but the inner feelings the same as before. I do not know how long they will last. They dissemble, but Cecil has more wit than all of them. Their envy of him is very great. This Queen, referring no doubt to the beginning of her reign, told me that she had had to conceal her real feelings to prevail with her subjects in matters of religion, but that God knew her heart, which was true to His service. She said other things to give me to understand that she was right in spirit, but not so clearly as I could have wished. There was no good opportunity of carrying this coversation further.

I told her, as I am sure she knew, that her preachers spoke ill of her because she had a cross on the altar of her chapel, and that they did in this a daring disrespect to her person. She signified that she should order crosses to be put into the churches, and that some of the newly rebuilt ones have stone crosses, not inside but on the towers. She said also, "They charge me with a good many things, in my own country and elsewhere, and, among others, that I show more favour to Robert than is fitting; speaking of me as they might speak of an immodest woman. I am not surprised that the occasion for it should have been given by a young woman and young man of good qualities, to whose merits and goodness I have shown favour, although not so much as he deserves, but God knows how great a slander it is, and a time will come when the world will know it. My life is in the open, and I have so many witnesses that I cannot understand how so bad a judgment can have been formed of me."

She afterwards spoke of the Queen of Scotland, praising her beauty, and went on to say that she had heard that she was going to marry our Prince.

I laughed, and said that I was told it was more likely to be the King of France. She said no, that was not so, because the Queen of France and Scotland were on bad terms respecting a certain affair, and the French had approached her (Elizabeth) with a view to her marrying their King, assuring her that she could do it better, and that it was a more suitable marriage than that which your Majesty contracted with her sister. She, however, had laughed at it, and treated it as a thing not to be spoken of considering their ages.

Surprising though this last statement undoubtedly was, it was perfectly true. The matter had first been mooted by the Prince of Condé months before, during the peace negotiations in Paris, but Sir Thomas Smith had dismissed the idea as impossible. Now, however, the scheme had been taken up by Catherine dé Medici, who, seeing in it some hope of strengthening her position against the increasing strength of the Catholic and Spanish combination, opened negotiations through her Ambassador, Michael Castelnau, Seigneur de Mauvissière. Charles IX. at that time was only about sixteen, but had recently been declared by the States of France to have attained his majority, although his mother continued to govern in his name. Elizabeth assured Castelnau that "She was greatly obliged for the signal honour that was done her by so mighty and powerful a King, to whom, as well as to the Queen, his mother, she professed herself infinitely beholden, but that she felt this difficulty: the most Christian King, her good brother, was too great and too small—too great, as a monarch of such a realm, to be able to quit his own dominions to cross the sea and remain in England, where the people always expected their Kings and Queens to live; too small," she explained by saying, "that his Majesty was young, and she was already thirty, which she called old."[1] The matter, as will be seen, was not allowed to stay there, Catherine making a fresh attempt in the following year by means of her resident Ambassador, Paul de Foix.

[1] Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England."

Mary's matrimonial prospects, meanwhile, showed little signs of improvement. The Leicester match was kept dangling before her eyes, with a profusion of promises on Elizabeth's part, but no proper security for their fulfilment. On the other hand Elizabeth had made it sufficiently clear that any foreign alliance would at once lead to her open enmity, and Mary may have already known—what she certainly learned before the year was out—that Don Carlos, whom she would have preferred above all others, was no longer a possible suitor. There was Lord Darnley, of course, but it is doubtful whether she realised how inevitably she was moving towards the irretrievable tragedy of that alternative match when she restored to his father, the Earl of Lennox, his long-forfeited estates in Scotland. Lennox and the Countess were at first—this was in August—granted permission by Elizabeth to take Darnley with them on that occasion, but Elizabeth grew suspicious, and would only allow Lennox to go alone. Mary refers to his reinstatement in her secret letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, who had retired to Paris on the death of the Queen Regent, and remained there as Scottish Ambassador until his death:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary Queen of Scots.*"]

EDINBURGH, *November* 2, 1564.

Monsieur de Glasgow,

The bearer of this has begged so earnestly to be taken into my service, that, without considering his youth, as I had before done, I would not let him set out without this short letter, in which I shall not give you much news, referring to that which I have commanded him to say relative to the appointments of the Duke of Châtelherault and of the Earl of Lennox. . . . also about the return of Melville, whom I sent to the Queen, my good sister, with an apology for some letters which I had written to her, and which she considered rather rude; but she took the interpretation which he put upon them in good part, and has since sent to me Randolph, who is here at present, and has brought me some very kind and

polite letters, written by her own hand, containing fair words, and some complaints that the Queen[1] and her ambassador . . . . had assured her that I had published in mockery proposals which she had made me to marry Lord Robert. I cannot imagine that any of those over there could wish to embroil me so much with her, since I have neither spoken to any body, not written respecting this proposal, not even to the Queen, who, I am sure, would not have borne such testimony against me; but I have thought of writing about it to M. de Foix and to Baptiste. In the mean time, if you hear any thing, talk to him on his return from England; let me know, but do not mention a word about what I am writing to you to any one whatever.

For the rest, I shall hold the Parliament on the 5th of next month, for the sole purpose of reinstating the Earl of Lennox in his possessions, and afterwards I shall not fail to dispatch to you a gentleman, who will acquaint you with all that has occurred more at length than I can inform you at present.

Your very kind mistress and friend,

MARY R.

Lennox's restitution was proclaimed at the market cross in Edinburgh not long after this letter was written, before the meeting of Parliament. The Earl had already repeated his request to Elizabeth for Darnley's presence on his estates—with the following result:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

October 9, 1564.

. . . Nothing fresh has been heard from Scotland since the Queen restored his estates to Lord Lennox. He has written to this Queen informing her that, as his relatives and lawyers are of opinion that the presence of his son is necessary for the preservation

[1] Catherine de' Medici.

of these estates, he begs her to give him leave to come and take joint possession with him. The Queen replied to Lady Margaret, congratulating her on the restoration of her husband's estate, and said she would be pleased to give her son the license requested. This was repeated to her also by Cecil and Leicester, but, after the license was granted the next day, the Queen said to Margaret that she was very vexed and offended at her husband for having asked for the license for the son with all this caution, saying that his lawyers had advised him that his son's presence was necessary to take possession of the estate, when such was not the fact. For this reason she had decided not to give him leave to go, as she would have done willingly if she had been asked in a straightforward way. Margaret explained the matter in such a way that the Queen again said she would give the license, and would answer her husband's letter. Notwithstanding all this it has been decided not to give the license.

This is the way with everything—absolutely no certainty. This Lennox, Margaret and her son, are Catholics, and profess attachment to your Majesty. I do what is requisite to entertain them, although with great caution and secrecy. As Margaret is one of the claimants to the succession, and a Catholic, the Queen and her Ministers attach a great deal of importance to her, and are so suspicious, so excited and so anxious, that Margaret says they conduct themselves as if they were frantic, and certainly she is not far wrong.

Elizabeth now turned her attention to Mary's possible marriage with the Archduke Charles, affecting to believe that negotiations were in progress with that end in view. The familiar farce was accordingly revived of discussing with the Spanish Ambassador Elizabeth's own prospects in the same direction. Guzman realised the likelihood of deception, but was willing to write to Philip for instructions. "Although these people are false generally," he told him, "they may

not be so in this case."[1] That was all that Elizabeth wanted —to keep Philip on tenterhooks again, pointing out that the alternative was still open to her of marrying the young King of France. In December Elizabeth agreed to the meeting at Berwick between Randolph and Bedford on the one hand, and Lord James (now Earl of Murray) and Lethington on the other, with the object, if possible, of providing Mary with an English husband. Guzman declares that Elizabeth now offered Mary the choice of three :

At Berwick on the Scottish frontier the Earl of Bedford, who is at present general there, and the Ambassador who recently left here for Scotland, Randolph by name, have had a meeting with Lord James, the Queen of Scotland's brother, and Secretary Lethington, on behalf of the respective Queens. They say the discussion has been about the marriage of the Scottish Queen, and that a proposal has been made to her by this Queen that she should choose between the following three Englishmen—the Earl of Leicester, the Duke of Norfolk, and the son of Lady Margaret Lennox, and in the event of her marrying either of them she will declare her heiress to the crown. It is said that the conclusion arrived at by the Queen of Scotland was that she was willing to marry an Englishman if the succession was declared, but not the Earl of Leicester, although she said nothing of the other two. It is also asserted that Lethington will soon be here to arrange this and other business. I am informed that the Queen of Scotland has written to this Queen asking her still to give leave for Lady Margaret's son to come to his father in Scotland. I am also told that the French are endeavouring to arrange a marriage for the Queen of Scotland in France, and have offered her several persons of that country. How these negotiations will end it is impossible to predict.[2]

Cecil was evidently as much in the dark on this point as

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 395.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 399.

was the Spanish Ambassador, and saw the happiest issue out of all his afflictions in a suitable marriage for his own fickle mistress. In the following letter he does not mention the Duke of Norfolk as being among the candidates for Mary's hand at the Berwick meeting, Darnley and Leicester apparently having the field to themselves :

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

December 30, 1564.

. . . The Earl of Lennox's friends wish that the Lord of Darnley might marry with the Scottish Queen, and I see some device to bring the Queen's Majesty not only to allow thereof, but also to move it to the Queen her sister. But I see no disposition thereto in her Majesty, but she rather continueth her desire to have my Lord of Leicester preferred that way, for which purpose there was this last month a meeting at Berwick with my Lord of Murray and the Lord of Lethington, but yet covered with some other matters. And now of late it is from thence renewed, to know with what conditions the Queen's Majesty will prefer him, wherein at this present no full answer is yet given ; but to say the truth of my knowledge in these fickle matters, I can affirm nothing that I can assure to continue. I see the Queen's Majesty very desirous to have my Lord of Leicester placed in this high degree to be the Scottish Queen's husband ; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness.

This also I see in the Queen's Majesty, a sufficient content to be moved to marry abroad, and if it so may please Almighty God to lead by the hand some meet person to come and lay hand on her to her content, I could then wish myself more health to endure my years somewhat longer to enjoy such a world here as I trust will follow ; otherwise I assure you, as now things hang in desperation, I have no comfort to live. . . .

The new year dawned with a frost so intense that the Thames was completely frozen over, "and people walk upon it," wrote the Spanish Ambassador, "as they do the streets. Natives say they have never seen such a thing before, and it is very trying for the weak. It has found out the Queen, whose constitution cannot be very strong."[1] Elizabeth had been ill with a feverish cold, and was unable to see the Ambassador since Christmas Eve. Leicester told him that her illness had made her very thin. A second letter from Guzman to the King on the same day is interesting as showing how Leicester and Cecil impressed the new diplomatist from the Spanish Court:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

London, *January* 2, 1565.

Although I have written that this Queen has been ill with catarrh, she has also had an attack of the pains in the head to which she is subject. They inform me that the physicians who attend her consider her constitution a weak and unhealthy one. It is true young people can get over anything, but your Majesty should note that she is not considered likely to have a long life.

The Earl of Leicester is still in favour. He shows the same goodwill towards your Majesty's interests. I believe he desires to please everybody, as he seems well disposed, and has no inclination to do harm. The French Ambassador cultivates his friendship both in obedience to instructions from the King, and because Leicester's father was attached to the French, and he also has a liking for them, although if he tells the truth his affection for and desire to serve your Majesty are much stronger. He was considered here more Catholic than Protestant, but recently he has done two things that make some people think he is not so. First, the Queen having ordered the image to be placed in her chapel, he had it

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 401.

removed ; and next, when the men they call ministers and ecclesiastics here were ordered to wear a proper dress, in accordance with the ancient custom of the country, and to put on a surplice during the service, the ministers complained to him saying that they wished to make Papists of them, and by his help the order has been dropped, as have some other measures of amendment. The Queen, as usual, has a cross upon the altar. If what some people say is to be believed she is not comfortable with her Protestants, nor with the doctrines of the other side either, and, in the meanwhile, provides no amendment, and gives ground for the assertion that she is an atheist, and Leicester as well. I ought not presume to judge thus freely. . . .

When I first arrived here I had imagined Secretary Cecil, judging by the accounts given me, to be very different from what I have found him in your Majesty's affairs. He is well disposed towards them, truthful, lucid, modest and just, and, although he is zealous in serving his Queen, which is one of his best traits, yet he is amenable to reason. He knows the French and, like an Englishman, is their enemy. He assures me on his oath, as I have already said, that the French have always made great efforts to attract to their country the Flanders trade, offering heavy security for its safety. With regard to his religion I say nothing except that I wish he were a Catholic, but to his credit must be placed the fact that he is straightforward in affairs, and shows himself well affected towards your Majesty, for which I thank him, and, with fair words that pledge me to nothing, I let him know that your Majesty looks to him to dispose matters favourably as necessity may occur, for he alone it is who makes or mars business here.

Guzman was soon involved in the plot which ended in Mary's disastrous marriage in the ensuing summer. Any attempt to steer a clear, incontrovertible course through the labyrinth of documents in which the truth lies hidden

concerning the means by which this match was brought about, is foredoomed to failure. All that I can hope to do is to select the essential documents illustrating what seems to me the most plausible theory on the subject, in the light of some newly-discovered letters, as well as of those already printed. From these documents it seems clear that however much Mary may have disliked the idea of marrying Leicester when it was first mooted, she was afterwards sincere when she expressed her readiness to accept him if Elizabeth would but recognise her claims to the English succession. When she made her definite promise to Randolph to that effect Darnley, according to this theory, was being despatched from the English Court for the express purpose of undoing her unwelcome acquiescence. The opposite view is that Mary never meant to marry Leicester, and only promised to do so in order to disarm Elizabeth's suspicions regarding Darnley.

The English Ambassador had already urged repeatedly that it only needed Leicester's arrival to complete what he fondly believed to be Elizabeth's magnanimous sacrifice, telling Leicester himself "wherein I thought him overslow and careless for his own weal and the profit of his country."[1] More was thought of Darnley, he wrote to Cecil in an earlier letter (Dec. 14) before his father's coming than at present. "The father is now here well known; the mother more feared than beloved of any that knew her"; and Randolph bitterly complained that little was done on the English side to conclude matters. Murray and Lethington had both agreed that "the English amity is fittest, and no man more acceptable than shall be Lord Robert." "The stay is now," Randolph shrewdly guessed in the same letter, "either in the Queen's Majesty to have all performed, or in his Lordship's self, that hath the matter so well framed in his hand, that much more I believe there need not be than his own consent."[2]

But Dudley had no desire to exchange his brilliant prospects at Elizabeth's Court for the risk of sudden death after the orthodox Scottish manner as husband of the

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 114.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Queen of Scots, and Elizabeth, as Cecil shows by his letter to Smith of December 30 was "remiss of her earnestness" when she came to discuss the conditions demanded. The length to which she was prepared to go in order to keep Leicester about her own person may be judged by her impossible suggestion that if Mary would marry him, and be content to live with her, she would gladly bear the charges of both households.[1] According to an incomplete statement by Mary after her marriage with Darnley—much stained, defaced, and undated, but placed in the Scottish Calendar under the date of October 1565—Leicester himself had written to her, secretly through Randolph—to the effect that Elizabeth's object in offering his hand was only to deceive her, and put off other suitors. Leicester was quite capable of betraying his mistress in this fashion, but if such letters were ever received by Mary they must have been written after Darnley's arrival, and the contents kept from Randolph, through whose hands she declares they passed. That she was anxious to bring matters to a head at the beginning of the year by feigning secret negotiations of great importance in France is obvious from her next letter to her Ambassador in Paris:

MARY STUART TO ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

[Strickland's "*Letters of Mary Queen of Scots.*"]

January 28, 1565.

Monsieur de Glasgow,

I send the bearer more for a blind than for any matter of importance—expressly to set people guessing what it can be about. Pretend to be greatly annoyed by the delay of this letter, and, if possible, cause the English ambassador to suppose that it relates to something of great consequence. Lose no time in going to the Queen and soliciting an audience; and, under the cloak of my pension, about which you will talk to her, invent some subjects that will occupy her attention for a considerable time, purposely to make them imagine that this dispatch contains something very important . . . . will give you intel-

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 81.

ligence concerning my affairs: you will know to what account this information may be turned; and next day speak to her again if you can, and write to M. the Cardinal [of Lorraine] as if in great haste; but take no notice of any thing beyond forwarding my letters, so that he may receive news of me, and send me, as soon as you possibly can, one of your people with all the news you are able to obtain. I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

Mary followed this up with warnings to Randolph of the danger of prolonging all the uncertainty between their two Majesties, giving him at the same time a definite assurance of her own readiness to marry Leicester:

SIR THOMAS RANDOLPH TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *February* 5, 1565.

Immediately after the receipt of your letter to this Queen, I repaired to St. Andrews, and when time served I presented the same, which being read and apparently very well liked, she said little to me for that time. Next day she passed wholly in mirth, nor gave any appearance to any of the contrary; nor would not, as she said openly, but be quiet and merry. Her Grace lodged in a merchant's house, her train very few, and small repair from any part. Her will was that I should dine and sup with her, and your Majesty was oftentimes drunken unto by her. Having thus spent Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, I thought it time to utter to her Grace your Majesty's last command by Mr. Secretary's letters—viz., to know her resolution touching the matters propounded at Berwick by my Lord of Bedford and me to my Lord of Murray and Lethington.

I had no sooner spoken these words but she said:

"I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment. I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastimes with your great and grave matters. I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassy until the Queen come hither, for I assure you you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance that you may think that there is a Queen here, nor I would not that you should think that I am she at St. Andrews that I was at Edinburgh."

I said I was very sorry, for at Edinburgh she said she loved my Sovereign better than any other, and now I marvelled how her mind was altered! Hereat it pleased her to be very merry, and called me by more names than were given me in my christendom! At these merry conceits much good sport was made.

"But well, Sir," said she, "that which I then spoke in words shall be confirmed to my good sister your mistress in writing. Before you go out of this town, you shall have a letter unto her, and for yourself go where you will, I care no more for you." Next I was placed at my ordinary table the next person (saving worthy Beaton) to the Queen's self; very merrily she passeth her time. After dinner, riding abroad, she talked most of the time with me of France, and the honour she received there to be the wife unto a great king, and the friendship to her from many, wherefore she is bound to love the nation and continue the friendship sought of her, for the maintenance of many of her people there, the service of the Guard and men at arms, besides privileges to her merchants beyond any nation. "What privately of long time hath been sought, and yet is, for myself to yield unto their desires in my marriage, your mistress cannot be ignorant, and you have heard. To leave such friends, and to lose such offers, without assurance of as good, nobody will give me advice that loveth me. Not to

marry, you know it cannot be for me: to defer it long, many incommodities ensue. How privy to my mind your mistress hath been herein, to know how willing I am to follow her advice, I have showed many times, and yet can I find in her no resolution nor determination. For nothing, I cannot be bound unto her, and to frame my will against hers, I have of late given assurance to my brother of Murray and Lethington, that I am loath, and so do now show unto yourself, which I will you to bear in mind, and to let it be known to my sister your mistress. And therefore this I say, and trust me I mean it, if your mistress will as she hath said, use me as her natural born sister, or daughter, I will take myself either as the one or the other, as she please, and will show no less readiness to obey her and honour her than my mother or eldest sister; but if she will repute me always but as her neighbour, Queen of Scots, how willing soever I be to live in amity, and to maintain peace, yet must she not look for that at my hands that otherwise I would, or she desireth. To forsake friendship offered, and present commodity for uncertainty, no friend will advise me, nor your mistress's self approve my wisdom. Let her therefore measure my case as her own, and so will I be hers. For these causes until my sister and I have farther proceeded, I must apply my mind to the advice of those that seem to tender most my profit, that show their care over me, and wish me most good. I have now disclosed unto you all my mind, and require you to let it be known to your Sovereign. My meaning unto her is plain, and so shall my dealing be. I know how well she is worthy, and so do esteem her, and therefore I will thus much say more, that as there is none nearer of kin unto her than I am, nor none more worthy to whom I may submit myself, so is there none to whom with better will I desire to be beholden unto than unto her, or to do anything that may be with my honour."

To this long discourse I did not much reply, but as to her affection for France, I was bold to say, what-

soever her Grace had found herself, her country hath felt the smart. I approved greatly her good words of your Majesty and by many tokens showed your Grace's like mind towards her. The matters you stood on were so great, they could not soon be resolved of, and it were much better to wait a time than over hastily to press at them, and rather to let them come of themselves than to seem to wring them out by force. "When," she said, "heard you me speak of these matters before?" I said no, of herself, but her ministers bore always her mind, and in their words uttered that which she would. "I gave unto them charge," said she "to consider what is fittest for me, and I find them altogether bent towards you, and yet not so but I believe they will advise me for the best. But so your mistress may use me that I will leave their advice, and all others, and follow hers alone." I liked these words so well that I wished it might be so to both their contents.

"Remember," said she, "what I have said; this mind that now I am of cometh not upon the sudden; it is more than a day or two that I have had this thought, and more than this too that you shall not know." I desired her not to cut off her talk there, it was so good, wise, well framed and comfortable to me, to hear her mind to your Majesty. "I am a fool," said she, "thus long to talk with you; you are too subtle for me to deal with." I protested that my meaning was but to nourish perpetual amity between you and her only by honest means. "How much better were it," said she, "that we two being Queens so near of kin, neighbours and living in one isle, should be friends and live together like sisters, than by strange means divide ourselves to the hurt of us both! and to say that we may for all that live friends, we may say and promise what we will, but it will pass both our powers! You repute us poor, but yet you have found us cumbersome enough! We have had loss, ye have taken hurt! Why may it not be between my sister and me, that we living in peace

and assured friendship may give our minds that some as notable things may be wrought by us women, as by our predecessors have been before? Let us seek this honour against some other, than fall at debate amongst ourselves."

I asked her Grace whether she would be content some day, whenever it were, to give her assistance for the recovery of Calais? At this she laughed and said: "Many things must pass between my good sister and me before I can give answer, but I believe to see the day that all our quarrels shall be one, and assure you, if we be not, the fault shall not be in me." Such is the effect of much long talk between this Queen and me, not so well answered by me as spoken by her. I commended her opinion of your Majesty, and so ended with her that no small matter shall make her think otherwise, or over hasty to enter into league with any, or match herself in marriage, farther than either drift of time should be found in your Majesty, or hasty request of her subjects, or necessity to provide for her estate did press her. I requested her humbly, inasmuch as I had moved her by your command, to let her mind be known how she liked the suit for my Lord of Leicester, that I might be able to say or write somewhat thereon to your Majesty. "My mind towards him is such as it ought to be of a very noble man, as I hear say by very many; and such one as the Queen your mistress, my good sister, doth so well like to be her husband if he were not her subject, ought not to mislike me to be mine. Marry! what I shall do, it lieth in your mistress's will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me." I made as if I did not well understand her words, that I might have the better hold of them—so she repeated the self-same words again. And I, showing myself fully contented, desired her Grace I might hastily return to your Majesty while they were fresh in memory.

"My mind is not that you shall so hastily depart: at Edinburgh we may come on farther; there shall

be nothing forgotten, or called back, that hath been said. I have received," said she, "a very loving letter from my good sister, and this night or to-morrow will write another, which you must send away." Of the whole conference I made a rehearsal to Murray and Lethington, who were glad I had heard so much spoken of herself, but without that principal point whereon your Majesty stays they neither dare, nor are willing of themselves, earnestly to press her, for they see not otherwise how in honour she can accord to your Majesty's advice, nor so to bind herself unto you as they are sure she will—and therein offer their service to you to their uttermost. Lethington doubts your Majesty has an evil opinion of him, though I assure him to the contrary, and find his dealing hitherto honest. But in these great matters, however ready to obey your Majesty's will, I am in continual fear of my lacks, and would humbly crave that some man of ripe experience and judgment out of your many councillors, be sent here to bring them to a successful issue:

To Leicester himself Randolph wrote on the following day to the same effect, apologising also for having previously written too plainly to the Earl on neglecting his golden opportunity in Scotland. "I so much overshot myself and your Honour in my last letters," he had also written to Cecil on January 13, "that I repent they escaped my hand":

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

February 6, 1565.

I have the longer forborne to write unto your Lordship, for fear lest my last letters deserved so little thanks that your Lordship careth not how few come into your hands. Whatsoever is contained in my writings, my mind was never to offend, and if I knew which way to sort to your Lordship's contentment, with the desire I have that this suit I have here took effect, your Lordship should ever be void

of suspicion of my good will. That matter which I have in hand, I am assured, if it take effect, shall turn your Lordship to the greatest honour that you can be called unto, except you marry with the Queen's Majesty. What profit and commodity shall ensue unto your country, the wisest and best experienced have already given their judgment, that there can be no greater. The Queen's Majesty's contentment herein I am sure will be such, as this being ended, her great care is past. Because your Lordship therefore shall not be ignorant to what pass matters are come unto here, that your Lordship may the sooner, in debating with yourself, resolve upon that which is found for you to be best, it may please your Lordship to understand that this Queen is now content to give good care unto the Queen's Majesty's suit in your behalf. By reports she hath heard so much good of your Lordship that she judgeth you worthy of any place of honour, yea, to be husband to any Queen: she wisheth you also a kingdom of your own, the sooner to come by that which others think you worthy of. Wherefore, towards yourself she beareth that good mind as, in honour and place she occupieth, she may do to any, yea to that which the Queen's Majesty desireth, if those other things may ensue that are in private conference between them. Whereof you thought that no such stay will be, as either may hinder this purpose, or be an occasion that the good-will that is between them, may grow unto a coldness, or greater inconvenience ensue than I can afford in my heart to speak of. Her mind and determination herein is committed unto the two Lords who are so affected unto this cause, as no men more. Declaration is made of their mind, and sufficient testimony of their own good wills. If in so good a cause, so much to the Queen's Majesty's contentment, so profitable to your country, so comfortable to your friends, and honourable to your Lordship's self, there be found a stay in you, as all men hitherto have judged your

Lordship worthy to marry the greatest Queen, so will this alter their opinions of you, worse than I can speak, or would be glad to think. But why should I be so mad as to believe that that could be your thought? I think with myself that I do your Lordship over great injury thus to charge you, and therefore of this matter I will write no more, but take it as resolved, and travail the best I can to bring it to effect, wherein God send me such prosperous success as may be to your Lordship's honour.

The selfsame occasions that were laid against your Lordship, of which I wrote, and of which I ground the cause of your Lordship's misliking of me, I am again charged with, or rather your Lordship burdened to your great negligence to woo a Queen, without labour or travail, cost, charge, message, token, no, not so much as once signifying of your own good will. It is enough for me always to say that it is no small honour for this Queen to have such a princess as my Sovereign to be a suitor; your Lordship is right happy if so easily you may come by her. I would that I might, with much more labour and more earnest travail than ever your Lordship took in this matter, marry but some good old widow that had wherewith to keep me towards my old days. I must now crave pardon, and am sorry to have waded so far; my mind is not to offend, but in all dutiful service duly to serve your Lordship during my life. I might here well leave further to write unto your Lordship, with more thanks peradventure than to take further pains, but this I cannot leave out, which I must (saving that which was done for my Sovereign's sake) chiefly attribute unto your Lordship. Greater entertainment, or greater honour could not be done to the greatest ambassador that the Queen's Majesty could have sent unto this Queen, than was done to me at St. Andrews. For four days together I dined and supped daily at her Grace's table; I sat next unto

herself saving worthy Beaton[1] our mistress. I had longer talk and conference with her than any other during the time. Enough, I assure your Lordship, if I were able to report all, to make all the ill-will to both these Queens' felicities burst asunder for envy. Of your Lordship we have not spared to speak also, but nothing of that which of any other things I desire least should come unto her knowledge, wherein I have said so much that if half were but true, your Lordship I am sure is half-consumed in love for her sake.

Either Randolph was "a deluded simpleton"—deceived by Mary as well as Elizabeth, according to T. F. Henderson among modern historians, and Elizabeth, Leicester and Cecil were equally misled as to Mary's tactics, according to Froude, or, as Andrew Lang maintained—and these letters I believe tend to confirm his view—she was really sincere when she consented to the Leicester match at the beginning of this month. Having always opposed the coming of Darnley as being bound to add to the difficulties of his own delicate negotiations, Randolph was now as amazed as disconcerted to find, just when Mary had appeared willing to submit, that both Leicester and Cecil were earnestly working towards that very end:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

BERWICK, *February* 12, 1564.

I arrived here upon Thursday last, minding on Monday next to return to Edinburgh, where the Queen will be a few days after. Yesterday I received yours of the 5th, and was glad to see you had no worse than a cold. By your letter I perceive what earnest means hath been made both by my Lord Robert and your Honour for my Lord Darnley's licence to come into Scotland. Your Honour's consideration here is enough to satisfy me, how loath

[1] Mary Beaton who, two years later, however, married Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne.

soever I am that any comfort should be taken here by any as to think that through his presence my purpose here should be subverted, or that they that have stood in perfect amity and good will with my Sovereign, should be grieved or offended that any such should be licensed to come into the country, of whom there is so much conceived against, as to your honour is not unknown, both by word and writing. My mind was ever to obey unto her Majesty's will, but how to frame or fashion this, that it may be both to her Majesty's honour and thorough contentment in the end, I must now take one care more upon me than before I had, which must be supported by your Honour's good advice, for truly of myself I know not yet what to think, or how to behave myself.

Nine days previously Throckmorton, now preparing for a mission across the border, received elaborate hints as to the friends and enemies of Lennox "if the time may serve in Scotland," and "if Darnley hit the mark."[1] There is no proof that Darnley aimed at this, or that Mary proved a ready target, at their first meeting, which took place on February 18, at the house of the Laird of Wemyss, though "he was welcomed and honourably used," as Randolph informed Leicester on the 19th. According to Melville, Mary "took well with him, and said that he was the lustiest and best proportioned long man that she had seen." But it was not until later that she so obviously lost her head over this "lady-faced lad" of nineteen, who, after thus first meeting with his fate, continued his journey on the following morning to his father at Dunkeld. On his arrival Lennox wrote to Elizabeth thanking her for thus "licensing his son to come to me," and "trusting you shall never have cause to repent."[2] Darnley himself sent a separate letter to Leicester, testifying to his anxiety at this period to retain the friendship of Elizabeth's all-powerful favourite:

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 118—9.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

LORD DARNLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters.*" Second Series, Vol. II.]

DUNKELD, *February* 21, 1565.

My especial good Lord,

Your accustomed friendliness during my continuance in the Court, yea, since I first knew your Lordship, cannot, though I am now far from you, be forgotten of my part: but the remembrance thereof constraineth me in these few lines to give your Lordship my humble thanks therefore, and to assure your Lordship that, during my life, I shall not be forgetful of your great goodness and good nature showed sundry ways to me: but to my power shall ever be ready to gratify you in anything I may as assuredly as your own brother. And thus with my humble commendations to your good Lordship, I wish you as well as your own heart would.

Your Lordship's assured to command,

H. DARNLEY.

My L. my father sendeth your Lordship his most hearty commendations.

Before the end of the month Darnley was with the Queen in Edinburgh, dancing with her on occasion at Murray's request, and doubtless often enough in Mary's mind as a possible future husband. "For myself," however, wrote Randolph, "I see no great good will borne to him. Of her Grace's good usage and often talk with him, her continuance and good visage, I think it proceeds rather of her own courteous nature, than that anything is meant which some here fear may ensue."[1] Afterwards, however, he confessed that he could not tell what affections may be stirred up in her, or whether she will be at any time moved that way, seeing she is a woman and in all things desireth to have her own will."[2] She still professed to Randolph her readiness to marry Leicester, though "in some mistrust of these long delays," as the English ambassador informed Cecil in a letter

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 136.
[2] Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," Vol. I., p. 194.

which also brings again on the scene the significant figure of the daredevil Bothwell, now returned, uninvited, from his exile in France.

Bothwell had been released by Elizabeth a year previously at the request of Mary Stuart that he might have liberty "to depart your realm for such countries beyond sea as shall seem to him most convenient."[1] Proceeding to France he was appointed Captain of the King's Scottish Guard, but was now eager to return and settle his account in Scotland. He had accordingly sent young Murray of Tullibardine "to purchase some grace and favour" at the hands of his Queen, who, adds Randolph in announcing this fact to Cecil, "of herself, is not evil-affected to him, but there are many causes why he is not so looked on as some others are—and more favour cannot be shown to him—accused of conspiring against her to take her by force, and to kill those in chief credit about her, and when committed to prison (as it may be thought finding himself guilty) broke it and left his country—than to Arran, who detected the same, and is yet detained."[2] The failure of Tullibardine's mission only served to inflame Bothwell the more against his enemies. He landed without leave, breathing vengeance, but was wise enough not to venture near the Queen's presence, though Froude describes him as standing there, braving all, "none daring to lift a hand against him—proud, insolent, and dangerous." In point of fact Bothwell was reported by Bedford on March 10 as hiding in the neighbourhood of Haddington, "finding no safety for himself anywhere"; and he kept at a safe distance from Court. Mary, naturally offended at hearing of the infamous words which Bothwell had spoken of her, calling her the mistress of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, swore to Randolph upon her honour that he should never receive favour at her hands. "Bothwell said in France," declared Randolph to Throckmorton, "that both the Queens [Elizabeth and Mary] could not make one honest woman; and for his own, if she had taken any but a Cardinal, it had been better borne with"[3]:

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 39.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *March* 15, 1565.

. . . Of Bothwell's arrival I doubt not your honour is advertised by my Lord of Bedford. The Queen altogether mislikes his home coming without her licence, and has already sent a sergeant of arms to summon him to underlie the law—which if he refused to do, he shall be pronounced rebel. As it is thought he will perchance seek refuge in England, I am required to write to you to move her Majesty that he may have no receipt there, and her officers be warned; as I have already written to Lord Bedford and Sir John Forster. Bothwell is also charged by Murray that came last out of France, of speaking dishonourable words against this Queen, and threatening my Lord of Murray and Lethington that he would be the death of both when he returned to Scotland.

Yet Bedford suspected Mary of favouring Bothwell, whom he accuses at the same time of being much given to a vile and unmentionable vice.[1] According to Randolph, when he declined to obey her summons to take his trial on the "day of law" declared for him—shrewdly guessing what his fate would be in the midst of Murray and his 6,000 armed supporters—and he was condemned in his absence, she would not have him "put to the horn." Seeing how things stood, however, his case for the time being hopeless, Bothwell again sought safety in France.

It has been supposed that Mary finally despaired of Elizabeth's good faith in the Leicester match on March 15, when Randolph "did communicate his sovereign's resolution to her—causing her, as he heard afterwards, to 'weep her fill'—that even though she married Leicester, Elizabeth would not proceed to the examination or declaration of her interest in the succession until she herself had married or notified her determination never to marry"; and that Lethington neither would, nor could, counsel her to delay longer. Andrew Lang controverted this theory in his "New Light

[1] Foreign Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. VII., p. 327.

[*Photo, Giraudon*

CHARLES, CARDINAL OF LORRAINE

After the portrait in the Bibliothèque des Arts et Métiers

on Mary Queen of Scots" in *Blackwood's Magazine* in July, 1907, in which he produced fresh evidence in a number of hitherto unpublished letters of supreme importance in this connexion. Only a brief condensation is given by Andrew Lang of the longest of these new documents, which is now printed from the manuscript in the British Museum:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[*Egerton MS.*, 1819, fol. 47, British Museum.[1]]

EDINBURGH, *March* 20, 1565.

It is now time, and I know that your Lordship looketh for it that you should hear from hence: but where to begin, or what to write, I know not. To write of all things that I wish should come to your Lordship's knowledge, I cannot. To write less of all matters than doth concern your Lordship were too great a failure. I will begin at those things that last occurred: and as time serveth, write of the rest. Upon Wednesday the 13th of this instant I received letters from the Queen's Majesty of her resolution for the demands of this Queen. I took the next whole day for advisement to consider upon the matter, and inform myself what I might say. Upon Friday I attended upon her Grace at dinner and, in such merry talk among the rest that were present, passed that time as I might. After her dinner, in as good words and as merry sort as I could—what grief somever was at my heart—I told her Grace that I had received some letters from the Queen's Majesty, my mistress. She was much more desirous to hear what these imported than I was to utter the contents. I declared at good length, and in as fair speech as I could, the whole contents

[1] The letter is copied from the collection of modern (19th century) transcripts of MSS. relating to Scotland, 1538—1705. A pencil note says that their accuracy is very doubtful, but the genuineness of the present letter is indisputable. According to the British Museum catalogue the originals of the transcripts formed part of the collection of Dawson Turner, and appear at one time to have belonged to John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland, in Charles II.'s reign.

of the Queen's Majesty's letter and resolution, whereof I doubt not but your Lordship hath been privy. I could not so cunningly handle the matter, nor temper it with such terms, but I might perceive in her, in my tale-telling, that altogether she grew discontented. I persuaded with her Grace what I could to find all good, and that there was no hurt, nor that it could be prejudicial unto her, though that which she chiefly desired were deferred for a time. To leave many circumstances and purposes that passed between us, in the end thus she saith, that I had done her wrong to train her so long, and to nourish her in such vain hope, as I have done in matters that were never intended, and might as well be resolved upon at the first as after so long a time as they have had to be thought upon.

To this I answered, that the matters were great, and therefore required the longer time, with the better judgment there should be resolved upon; and, for my part, I saw nothing that was prejudicial to her Grace, or why she should mislike. "I have had," saith she, "warning enough of your doings, and might, if I had been wise in time, have taken heed unto you." I took those words spoken of myself, and said that I had rather her Grace should think them of me than of my Mistress, that so dearly loved her. "I accuse not your Mistress," saith she, "though she be loath to give unto me my desire in that which perchance any would be loath to do; but, so long time to keep me in doubt, and now to answer me with nothing, I find great fault, and fear it shall turn to her discredit more than to my loss. I will content myself with my small portion, and maintain that as God will give me grace. When better cometh, it shall be thankfully received of Him. I assure you, and of none other, I would that I might have been most bound to my sister your Mistress. Seeing that cannot be, I will not fail in any good offices towards her, but to trust much from henceforth in her, for that matter I will not."

With as many good words as I could I sought to mitigate that choler. Nothing would serve for that time. She taketh her horse and rideth a hunting. I tarried behind to talk with my Lord of Murray. What shall I say but that I found him almost stark mad?; not that the matter is desperate, but for fear his sovereign should conceive such displeasure hereat, that greater unkindness will ensue, whereby we may enter into the old suspicions and opinions that we have had, the one of the other. I talked with him long. I found him reasonable enough: so that the way be found how these two countries may live in peace and concord, which he preferreth before the whole world. In this meantime in cometh the Lord of Lethington. I made him also privy of the Queen's mind. He saith that he findeth nothing strange, for he knoweth so much of the Queen's Majesty's nature that she will never resolve in that point: nor ever believed that it was possible to persuade her to it. He alleged many reasons, and somewhat more of choler than judgment. We took up the matter here.

The Queen returned from her pastimes. I presented myself to be seen and perceived more sadness in her look than countenance amiss towards me. She retired to her cabinet: and I again to my two good lords. I warned them only to take good advice what counsel they gave, and bade them beware that they be not too hasty in their resolutions. The one of them said: "Where ye intend us no good, it is no matter how little we follow of your counsel." I bade them tarry a time, lest perchance they did repent it. "*Jacta est alea*," saith one; "I will care no more what cometh of the matter." I had not a Latin proverb to answer him with, but with an old English saw I told him that "he that was a-cold should blow the reek." I know not of us all three who was most angry. I took my leave, thinking the next day to talk more of the matter.

In the morning I wrote to my Lord of Lethington

a request to take part of a small portion that quietly I would provide for him and me in my chamber. He excused himself upon reasonable cause, as forced against his will to be other where. Being at my meat, I heard that the Queen would ride forth. I made myself ready to attend upon her Grace. Upon the sands of Leith she beheld a long space my Lord of Darnley, Lord Robert [Stuart] and divers others run at the ring. As little was done praiseworthily as the day of the great triumph, when we thought best of ourselves. It pleased her Grace there to begin with me again of this doubtful case of mine. She declareth her Grace's love and affection towards my Sovereign, almost so far as to such obedience as to her own dear mother; yea, and I assure your Lordship (be it spoken with no dispraise to her Majesty) with the tears standing in her eyes. I spoke as fair as was possible. I persuaded what I could. I entreated; I swore that there was nothing but good meaning: but all things ended in nought. "The dishonour," saith she, "and shame, to be deceived, and being long since warned that that should be the end, maketh me sorrier than anything else. For I know if it were published to-morrow it would never profit me one iota." She told me in the end that she determined on the morrow to send Beaton into England to desire a safe conduct for the Lord of Lethington to pass into France, and required me to write unto my Lord of Bedford for licence to him for post-horses. I thought that resolution to be very sudden, and trusted by some protractions to find the means to overthrow it. I prevailed nothing with her. I attempted my Lord of Murray. "I beshrew me then," saith he, "I have travailed over far in the matter, and fear that I shall repent it." With the Lord of Lethington I could not speak for business that he had to do—I know not where. The next word that I heard was from Beaton, who came to me for my letter to my Lord of Bedford, and to know what I would

command to the Court. I gave him my letter to my Lord of Bedford, and said for that time I would trouble him no further.

This Sunday, after the sermon, which my Lord of Murray never faileth to attend, though it be far from his lodgings, I asked his Lordship if his choler were digested. "The devil cumber you," saith he, "our Queen doth nothing but weep and write. Amend this betimes or all will be nought." I willed him to tarry a reasonable time, and all things should be well. "It passeth my power," saith he. I answered again that so it did mine.

There fell this day so great a storm of snow as though this whole winter there had been none. Where I purposed to have gone to the Court, I could not put my head out of the door. This morning, Monday, I thought to have found my Lord of Murray in his bed, and to have talked with him at good length; but before I went out of my chamber I had one of his Lordship's servants to warn me that he would dine at the Treasurer's, and that I should meet him there, where also the Lord of Lethington would be. At our first meeting he cursed me that could guide a Queen no better when I had her in my will, but so to handle her that she must be fain to put herself into her enemies' hands. I told him that it was well known where no good counsel would be followed. In cometh Lethington. I sat as fast upon him. We chafed ourselves well. I blamed him for his hasty dispatch of Beaton towards the Court for his safe conduct into France. First he saith that he findeth it best so; for matters had no other issue, nor could abide any longer delay. His mistress's friends there were as earnest to get an answer as I was to persuade her to tarry a time. After long debate, they both found it good that this matter [the Leicester match] should not thus be given over. His errand into France was only a colour of a voyage into England, whither, if his only errand was directed, it could not but be thought of

some that he went a wooing or seeking of a husband for his mistress. I desired him to be found true in that matter: he assured me that I should, and that nothing should be done that might displease my Mistress, but that things should be used in all such friendly sort as could be possible. I see that it must be so whether we will or not. For the answer of that which at this time I spoke unto this Queen, it is referred until his coming. In much gentler words we departed than we met.

Thus much of this negotiation I thought good to write unto your Lordship, whereof I doubt not but your Lordship, to save my pain of writing so much again, will communicate the same to Mr. Secretary; to whom of other matters I have written a large letter of doubts and fears of things that may ensue, rather than of any present will.[1] I would not that this should be unknown unto your Lordship that there is yet no doubt but all matters between the Queen's Majesty, and this Queen may very well be accorded; for such an opinion hath she of late received of Her Majesty, that she will not, as she saith, yet change for any friend she hath. She is entered into most despiteful hatred of the Constable of France and his house, for her uncle's sake, and willed me to give warning how the Queen's Majesty doth trust him. We have news here of Mauvissière coming with his presents; and somewhat else spoken of that we cannot believe.

I scarce dare advance it here that your Lordship was a counsellor of my Lord Darnley's coming hither; for little thanks will the Hamiltons give you that sent them such a gift. They will be rather content that you come yourself and enjoy the best place in the whole country. Of the same mind is my Lord of Argyll, who desireth to be heartily commended to your Lordship, as also my Lord of Murray, though he saith that he be angry with you. I leave further

[1] This letter is printed in Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times."

troubling your Lordship, wishing that this letter may be at the Court as soon as Beaton, lest ye do return him with a sour answer, which I will now take upon me shall not be necessary; but when you have Lethington in your hands, use him as you like; for, as I have told him, the Tower is too good a place for him. Most humbly I take my leave. At Edinburgh the 20th of March, 1564. Your honourable Lordship's ever at command. THO. RANDOLPHE.

Randolph may have resented Lethington's conduct partly because he knew that he was in receipt of a pension from Elizabeth—after the custom of the age, which appeared to enable many statesmen to become pensioners of foreign rulers without necessarily sacrificing their duty to their own sovereigns. Lethington's journey to London was postponed for nearly a month, by which time all Randolph's hopes came tumbling down like a pack of cards, and Lethington went to Elizabeth's Court on quite another mission. From the letter of the 20th just printed, however, it seems clear that notwithstanding Elizabeth's declaration, Murray, Lethington and Randolph all hoped that the Leicester match might still be arranged. Now comes another and a later letter from Randolph—to Leicester's brother-in-law—which shows the English Ambassador, as Andrew Lang says in printing the following extract for the first time, more confident than ever that all would yet go well:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR HENRY SIDNEY.

["New Light on Mary Queen of Scots," *Blackwood's Magazine.*]

EDINBURGH, *March* 31, 1565.

I have brought it unto that pass, that now that I have gotten the Queen's goodwill to marry where I would have her, I cannot get the man to take her, for whom I was suitor. How good an end I am like to make of my business in hand your Lordship by this may easily conjecture. But a man of that nature I never found any, that with so little labour may be called to so great honour (besides somewhat else of no small price) and yet will rather choose daily to be

trained and led I know not whither than yield unto that which may make him blessed for ever. If She were unknown or never seen by your Lordship you might well marvel what divine thing it is by whom this great felicity may be achieved.

To that which yourself hath been judge of with your eyes, there is now so much added of perfect beauty that in beholding the self-same person when you come again, you shall neither find that face nor feature, shape nor making, but all turned into a new nature far excelling any (our own most worthy Queen alone excepted) that ever was made since the first framing of mankind. How many countries, realms, cities, and towns have been destroyed and souls have suffered to satisfy the desire of wilful man! But he whom I go about to make as happy as ever was any, to put him in possession of a kingdom, to make him prince of a mighty people, to lay in his naked arms a most fair and worthy lady, either nothing regardeth the good that shall ensue unto him thereby, the honour that shall be to his name and race, the profit that shall redound unto his country,—but so uncertainly dealeth that I know not where to find him, nor what to speak or promise, that I shall not be forced to alter or call back again. To write all that I think will require a much longer time than now I have; thus much shortly your Lordship in earnest shall know, that this Queen and country was never so far at the Queen's Majesty's devotion. All resteth only upon declaration of the title which we [Mary] do more for honour regard than profit we hope for or desire thereof. In those terms now we stand that if shortly our goodwill be not embraced it must be extended to some other that gladly will receive us. The partner offered [Leicester] above any other liketh us; it is now in your choice to do with us as you please. To make this matter shortly off or on, the Lord of Lethington repaireth to the Court: There shall we have our two fine secretaries matched together, a couple as well matched to draw in a yoke as any two that ever wrote

with the pen. Before this matter be fully ended I doubt not but your Lordship may be at the contract making, but I assure your Lordship that so long time is detracted that I fear in the end we shall repent it. There is lately, or at the least not long since, come unto us the young lusty long Lord [Darnley] that looked ever so lofty in the Court where he went. I know not what alteration the sight of so fair a face daily in presence may work in our [Mary's] heart, but hitherto I have espied nothing, yet I am somewhat suspicious, or more peradventure fearful or jealous than a wise man would be. He is gently looked upon, courteously used, and well entertained at all hands, and in this honour that is done unto him he taketh no less upon him than appertaineth unto him. . . .

Leicester, however, had no intention of moving in the matter. Possibly, as Andrew Lang suggests, he finally spoilt whatever chance he had by his insolent familiarity with Elizabeth during his tennis match with the Duke of Norfolk—news of which must have reached Mary's ears at this time:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *March* 30, 1565.

Lately the Duke's grace and my lord of Leicester were playing at tennis, the Queen beholding of them, and my Lord Robert being very hot and sweating, took the Queen's napkin out of her hand and wiped his face, which the Duke seeing, said that he was too saucy and swore that he would lay his racket upon his face. Hereupon rose a great trouble and the Queen was offended sore with the Duke. The tale is told by Atholl the same day that Fowler came here with his master's licence. We lack no news, for what is most secret among you is so soon at this Queen's ears that some would think it should be out of the privy chamber door where you are!

That was the last straw. In her wounded pride Mary turned to Darnley, nursed him through his puerile attack

of measles, and did exactly what Elizabeth and Leicester, according to the theory supported by these documents, meant her to do. She lost her heart to the callow youth who was no more worthy to be her husband than was the now demented Earl of Arran. Don Carlos, at one time her most favoured candidate, was also a hopeless maniac. Surely no woman was ever more unfortunate in her suitors than this unhappy Princess, whose grace and beauty were acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of Christendom.

CHAPTER IX

THE DARNLEY MARRIAGE

Darnley's True Character—Mary's Infatuation—Elizabeth Suspected of Double-dealing in the Matter—She Woos the Catholic Spanish Party—Her Ideas Regarding Marriage—Sends Throckmorton to Edinburgh—Lethington sent by Mary to London—His dealings with the Spanish Ambassador—Philip Approves of the Darnley Match—Scotland's Disapproval—Mary and Darnley's Measles—Creates Him Earl of Ross—Promises Throckmorton Not to Marry for Three Months—Darnley's Arrogance—Mary Believed to be Bewitched—Riccio's Influence—Protestant Lords Organise Revolt — Elizabeth commits Darnley's Mother to the Tower—Mary Sends a Fresh Ambassador to London—Good News From Spain—Mary and Darnley Married—The Turning Point in Mary's Career.

Poltroon, profligate, and bully as Darnley soon revealed himself, his true character was as yet undeveloped at his first coming to Mary's Court, though Elizabeth had probably formed a shrewd idea of his worth. He seems to have made a good impression on his first arrival in Edinburgh. "His behaviour is very well liked," wrote Randolph to Cecil on February 27, "and hitherto he so governs himself that there is great praise of him."[1] By April 15, however, the Ambassador began to be seriously alarmed regarding the Queen's new-born passion:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

Berwick, *April* 15, 1565.

I have not spared from time to time to write how much Lennox's home-coming was misliked, and what was feared by Darnley's arrival. The matter is now grown to further ripeness. The Queen's familiarity with him breeds no small suspicion that there is more intended than merely giving him

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 128.

honour for his nobility, or for the Queen's Majesty's sake, by whom it is said he was so well recommended. It is now commonly said, and I believe is more than a rumour, that this Queen has already such good liking of him that she can be content to forsake all other offers of suitors, and content herself with her own choice. I know not what Lethington knows or will utter, but am assured that, with the best of his country, he partakes their griefs of the inconveniences and dangers like to ensue, which he shall as soon find as any. He can more easily find how far they have gone, and I wish he would be plain with your Honour, and deal as wisely and carefully in it as in all things to his Sovereign's advantage. And if he can so much prevail against his own hope as to persuade the Queen's Majesty to find it good and to yield as much with him as ever she was with any other, I must needs commend his wit for ever. Always I would that her Majesty were void of the suspicion that is here spoken to my face, that the sending Darnley home was done of purpose to match the Queen meanly and poorly, rather than live long in amity. However false it be, I fear if things thus ensue, men's hearts well affected to our Sovereign will alter. If they have proceeded farther than I have written, Lethington (if so much your friend as he pretends) will not in private sort keep it from you.

Randolph's anxiety now was to avoid this growing suspicion that Mary's infatuation was "done of purpose" by Elizabeth herself:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

BERWICK, *April* 18, 1565.

Whatsoever I wrote last to your honour, I can more boldly confirm by the fond tales and foolish reports of his lordship's own servants. My whole care is now to avoid the suspicion that the Queen's

Majesty was the means and worker hereof, as may be alleged by some, as it was of his father's return at her Majesty's suit. I see likelihood enough of mischief among themselves, besides cutting off the amity. What is thought of Darnley himself, his behaviour, wit and judgment, I would there were less spoken than is, or less occasion for all men to enlarge their tongues as they do. Of this I have a greater number of particulars than I may well put in writing, which shall not be secret to you, though I cannot utter them but with great grief of heart.

Now indeed I repent my time so long bestowed among them that through their own unadvised doings have brought their country to confusion. With the Duke of Châtelherault I spoke not long since. He takes his house quite overthrown, and with heavy heart beholds the sight of them that he fears shall be his confusion. He trusted much in the Queen's favour; now he sees his undoing and all his adversaries' moves tending to that end. The godly cry out that they are undone—no hope now of the sure establishment of Christ's true religion, but all turning to confusion. When you confer with Lethington, you shall better conceive what shall be best for both realms. Without care he cannot be, and if at any time I have seen him perplexed, it has been since these matters came to light, and the opinions of men he has heard thereon.

The scene shifts to London a few weeks back in order to show what meantime was happening at the English Court. While Mary was still professing her readiness to marry Leicester that presumptuous Earl was playing quite another game, entertaining Elizabeth with lavish hospitality, and arranging for her special benefit a dramatic performance in favour of marriage. Comedy was running riot at the English Court while tragedy was in the making at the Court of Mary Stuart. Reading between the lines of Guzman's account of these amusements, and of the English Queen's subsequent snubbing of Dr. Nowell in public, it is not difficult to detect

her renewed desire to woo the Catholic-Spanish Party. Elizabeth was nothing if not a born opportunist, and the news of the approaching conference at Bayonne[1] between Catherine de' Medici and the Queen of Spain, with Alba and the Papal representatives in attendance, filled her with distrust. She was never in love with the Puritans, and was no longer afraid to tell them so:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*English Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *March* 12, 1565.

On the 5th instant the party of the Earl of Leicester gave a supper to the Queen in the palace, which was the wager their opponents had won of them on the previous day. The French Ambassador with Margaret [Lady Lennox] and other of the principal ladies supped with the Queen, as is usual on similar occasions. There was a joust and a tourney on horseback afterwards. The challengers were the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Sussex, and Hunsdon. The Queen sent for me to be with her during the entertainment, and while I was there she spoke of the liberty which she said her preachers had, especially as regards their speech, and their resistance to the ecclesiastical costume which they were ordered to wear, as I had told her ten days before. The tourney was a good one, as such things go here, with four and twenty horsemen between challengers and opponents. When it was ended the Queen entered her apartments, asking me, if I was not tired, to stay and see the rest of the rejoicing for the day. She left Viscount Montague and her Vice-Chamberlain with me until the Earl of Leicester disarmed, when the rest of the guests and I went to his apartments to supper. When this was ended we went to the Queen's rooms, and descended to where all was prepared for the representation of a comedy in English, of which I under-

[1] At which the massacre of St. Bartholomew is said to have been planned, as part of the extermination of Protestantism throughout the world.

stood just so much as the Queen told me. The plot was founded on the question of marriage, discussed between Juno and Diana, Juno advocating marriage, and Diana chastity. Jupiter gave a verdict in favour of matrimony, after many things had passed on both sides in defence of the respective arguments. The Queen turned to me and said, "This is all against me." After the comedy there was a masquerade of satyrs, or wild gods, who danced with the ladies, and when this was finished there entered ten parties of twelve gentlemen each, the same who had fought in the foot tourney, and these, all armed as they were, danced with the ladies—a very novel ball, surely. After this the Queen went up to her apartments again, where they had spread a very large table in the presence chamber, with many sorts of cakes, confitures, and preserves, and in one part of it there were herrings and other small fishes in memory of the principle of Lent. The Queen asked whether I would eat anything, and on my replying that I would not, she laughed, and said: "I understand you very well, and will not cheat you; 12 o'clock has struck," and with that she entered her chamber, not very tired to all appearance, although the entertainment had been so long. She said how much she wished your Majesty had been present, and she could entertain and feast you here.

On the following day, Ash Wednesday, she went into a great courtyard, where, on occasions such as this, the sermon is preached, so that the people on all sides may hear, as great crowds go, although the Queen tells me that more go to see her than to hear the sermon. The preacher was the Dean of St. Paul's,[1] who has replaced the one now in prison, from whom he must be very different in person and doctrine. After preaching for some time he began to speak ill of a book written by a Catholic, who is in Louvain, in praise of the Cross, and went on to abuse images. As soon as he commenced the Queen

[1] Dr. Alexander Nowell.

said: "Do not talk about that." The preacher, as I am told, could not have heard her and went on, whereupon the Queen raised her voice, and pointedly said to him: "Leave that, it has nothing to do with your subject, and the matter is now threadbare."

The preacher was confused, spoke a few words more, and finished his sermon, and the Queen left apparently very angry, as I am told, many of the Protestant hearers being in tears, whilst the Catholics rejoice. So strong is the hope born of desires that insignificant events elate and depress men thus.

A few weeks later Guzman was afforded further proof of Her Majesty's new leanings: "I was praising lately to the Queen," he wrote on April 26, "the ceremony she performed on Holy Thursday and the sermon of her Bishop-Almoner, and the devotion with which she made the crosses on the feet of the poor women and kissed them, as I informed your Majesty in a former letter, to which she answered: "'Many people think we are Turks or Moors here, whereas we only differ from other Catholics in things of small importance.' I said: 'And those things your Majesty will soon amend.' 'And you will see it,' she replied. But one can only believe what one sees. The changes are not from day to day, but from hour to hour."[1] Elizabeth also found it advisable to encourage the belief that she was still willing to negotiate for a Spanish marriage, Guzman listening with polite amusement, but without enthusiasm to her views on this subject. Her opinions in regard to marriage in general are more in accord with the advanced feminism of to-day than the prevailing ideas of the sixteenth century. The following dialogue ensued after the amiable Ambassador had repeated the rumours which had reached him in March that Her Majesty meant to marry the King of France:

She held down her head a little and laughed, and I then told her that I had mentioned it to the French Ambassador, who asked me what I thought of it, as the King is short and the Queen tall, to which she

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 425.

replied: "They tell me he is not short, but I wish to confess to you as it is Lent and you are my friend:

"Marriage was suggested to me with the King, my brother-in-law; the King of France has proposed as well as the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and I understand the Archduke Charles also: the only person who has not been mentioned to me is your Prince."

"The reason," I said, "appears clear. The King my master no doubt is convinced that your Majesty does not wish to marry, since he, the greatest prince in christendom and the wisest, to whom, I am told, your Majesty owes most obligation, was offered to you, and nothing came of it."

She replied: "For my own part I do not think that such a conclusion is so clear as you say, although at that time I had a great idea not to marry, and I promise you, if I could to-day appoint such a successor to the Crown as would please me and the country, I would not marry, as it is a thing for which I have never had any inclination. My subjects, however, press me so that I cannot help myself, but must marry or take the other course, which is a very difficult one. There is a strong idea in the world that a woman cannot live unless she is married, or at all events that if she refrains from marriage she does so for some bad reason, as they said of me that I did not marry because I was fond of the Earl of Leicester, and that I would not marry him because he had a wife already. Although he has no wife alive now, I still do not marry him, notwithstanding that I was spoken to about it even on behalf of my brother the King. But what can we do? We cannot cover everybody's mouth, but must content ourselves with doing our duty and trust in God, for the truth will at last be made manifest. He knows my heart, which is very different from what people think, as you will see some day. I wish your master were here that I might entertain and consult with him, as please God some day I may. If he goes by way of France you

know the road is a bad and a long one, and there are always difficult bits on a long journey." With that she laughed and passed to the subject of the interview of our lady the Queen with her mother, about which I told her I knew no more than I had already conveyed to her from your Majesty.[1]

Next month Guzman reported that Elizabeth "was always giving him hints about her marriage with the King of France"; and, in point of fact, this impossible match had again been under discussion with the Ambassadors on both sides for the last two months. De Foix was instructed to renew the suit by Catherine de' Medici, who, having her own game to play, was as insincere as the English Queen. Elizabeth, though it suited her hand to hint at the possibility of such a match in order, if possible, to sow the seeds of dissension between France and Spain, did not give De Foix much encouragement. "I find myself, on the one hand," she said to him when he broached the subject in February, "much honoured by the proposal of the French King; on the other, I am older than he, and would rather die than see myself despised and neglected. My subjects, I am assured, would oppose no obstacle, if it were my wish, for they have more than once prayed me to marry after my own inclination. It is true they have said that it would pleasure them if my choice should fall on an Englishman. In England, however, there is no one disposable in marriage but the Earl of Arundel, and he is further removed from the match than the east from the west; and as to the Earl of Leicester, I have always loved his virtues, but the aspirations towards honour and greatness which are in me, cannot suffer him as a companion and a husband." Nevertheless, she did not allow De Foix to abandon the idea for some time, the negotiations lasting until there was no longer any need to keep up the pretence.

When news arrived of Mary's sudden liking for Darnley Elizabeth professed extreme annoyance, and told Guzman that she was sending Throckmorton to prevent that marriage if

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 409—10.
[2] Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England."

possible; "but day by day goes by," wrote that Ambassador on April 28, "and he does not depart."[1] He did not leave until May 4,—with instructions to assure Mary of Elizabeth's approval of her marriage with any "sortable" nobleman of England except Darnley, but to make it quite clear that only with the Earl of Leicester would Elizabeth be content to inquire into or publish Mary's title to succeed her. Before Throckmorton left Elizabeth placed Darnley's mother again under arrest, as Guzman at once informed his master:

Lady Margaret sent word to me that she had gone to the Queen's chamber and that her Majesty refused to speak to her, and afterwards sent an order that she was not to leave her apartments, giving her to understand that she was to consider herself a prisoner, as she had received letters from a foreign prince without her permission, and without conveying the contents to her. Lady Margaret answered that it was true she had received a letter from the Queen of Scotland by her Secretary, and had gone to the Queen's chamber for the purpose of showing it to her Majesty, who had refused to speak to her, and consequently it was not her (Margaret's) fault. An answer came from the Queen to the effect that although she was detained in her apartments, there was no intention of preventing her friends from visiting her, as is usually done here in cases where persons are placed under arrest. Lady Margaret also advised me that the negotiations for the marriage of her son with the Queen of Scotland were progressing favourably, and asked me in case Lethington said anything about it to me to assure him that your Majesty was favourable to it, as they were, and always had been, so faithful to your Majesty.[2]

Lethington had been sent by Mary to smooth the way for the marriage upon which she had now set her heart. He was to tell Elizabeth that having, "for her sake, forborne to hearken to the matching with any foreign prince," Mary

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., p. 427.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

could incline herself to marry Darnley if she had Elizabeth's good will and assent thereto.[1] At the same time, as can be seen in Guzman's next letter, he was to secure the support of Spain—even, if advisable, to reopen negotiations for Mary's marriage with Don Carlos. This last must have been mere diplomatic subterfuge on Mary's part, for a letter which she had received from the Duchess of Aerschot at the end of 1564 had made it clear that Don Carlos was out of the question :

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar :* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *April* 26, 1565.

On the same day that I had audience of the Queen I spoke with Lethington at the French Ambassador's, having gone thither from the palace. On leaving there Lethington went with me to my house, which lay in his road, and said he had something to tell me as he had hinted before, and promised to come to my house the next day for an interview. He talked of this Queen on our way home, and said she was trying to get all the marriageable Princes to propose to her, and he therefore thought that at her instance they were discussing her marriage with the King of France, as he also said they were treating with the Archduke Charles. I told him I did not believe there were any negotiations going on with regard to the latter, as I knew nothing of such negotiations, and if they were really taking place I could not fail to be informed, seeing your Majesty's affection for the Archduke and your desire to promote his interests. He said: "I understand that this Queen is arranging something in France. I do not know whether it is some close alliance, or only a feint to arouse suspicion and get better terms in Flanders." "But," I replied, "it might be rather to arouse suspicion on the part of your Queen if it be true that she is not on good terms with the Queen-Mother." "Yes," he said, "and I

[1] Stevenson's "Selections," p. 115.

am surprised at it, for when my Queen was in France she could not do too much for the Queen-Mother, and put her own friends and relatives quite in the background for her, and yet in return for all this she has done her much harm. I did not dare to visit you before I had been to see the (French) Ambassador in order not to awaken distrust, but I will do so to-morrow."

He came at the hour appointed, and after giving me his credentials spoke to me on his Queen's behalf, saying how great was the desire she had always had, even in France, to be guided by your Majesty's will and place herself in your hands. He had treated of this with the Bishop of Aquila, who knew the extent of the party his Queen had in this country, and had discussed with him the project of his Queen's marriage with his Highness, towards which her Majesty had shown herself favourable. She had awaited your Majesty's resolution on this point for over two years and as so long a delay had taken place, and it might be feared that your Majesty had other plans in view, the pressure of her subjects, her own age, and the inconvenience of a young Queen remaining unmarried had caused her to listen to certain proposals and conversations with the son of the Earl of Lennox and Lady Margaret. Besides being related to her on both his father's and his mother's side he was not a foreigner, which is the principal condition made by this Queen and the Queen of Scotland's own subjects. She had done her best to satisfy this Queen in this, having in view the succession to the English crown, but nevertheless she was quite free to do as she liked, and had placed the matter before her Council for their satisfaction. If, however, I gave her any hope of the negotiations with his Highness' proceeding, her own wishes and intentions on the subject were unchanged, and she begged me to tell her what I knew about it, as she had been informed by Cardinal de Granvelle that I had orders from your Majesty. I answered that your Majesty had always heard such flattering

accounts of her great virtues that you held her in all love and esteem, and was glad when the subject of a union with the Prince was first broached, but that having heard that Cardinal Lorraine had treated with the Emperor about the Archduke, and had shown him letters from the Queen saying that she left her marriage entirely in his hands and those of her mother (Queen-Mother ?) preferring rather to fail in his way than succeed in her own ; and the business having gone so far as the fixing of the allowance to be made by the Emperor for the Archduke's maintenance, and the solicitation of your Majesty's approval of the match, your Majesty had been constrained to signify such approval rather then offend the Emperor and the King of the Romans, and also because the Archduke's interests were as dear to you as those of his Highness.

I followed in this, and in all else, the instructions I had received from your Majesty urging the Archduke's business to the full extent of my power.

Although Lethington did not refer to this point he went on to say that what had happened was that as soon as the King of France, his Queen's husband, had died the Queen-Mother had conceived a great suspicion of the marriage of his Highness, having regard to the Scottish Queen's claims to this crown, and had summoned the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal and had begged them most urgently not to consent to any such marriage, seeing the danger and inconvenience that might result to France therefrom if to your Majesty's power were added that of these two kingdoms. They promised as the Queen-Mother desired, and thought more of the benefit of France than the interests of their niece. When the Queen left France the Duke told her he would not advise her respecting her marriage, as he could not give her the counsel that was best for her, but that she herself should look where her best interests were. Whilst Lethington himself was in this country he received advice that Lorraine had an interview with the Emperor at Innspruck to discuss this match without the know-

ledge of the Queen, and he (Lethington) had sent off in furious haste to the Cardinal begging him not to negotiate the marriage, as the Scottish people would not consent to it, and it would cause confusion. He also said that the Cardinal was taking this step without having consulted the Queen, as he (Lethington) was well acquainted with her views, and was convinced that it was unsuitable that she should marry a foreign Prince unless he was powerful enough to hold his own. He sent a copy of this letter to his mistress to put her on her guard, but the Cardinal had nevertheless persevered in his action, and had written to the Queen, who thought that as the Archduke was a son and relative of such powerful monarchs, she could not refuse him hastily, but in a respectful way said that she would lay the matter before her subjects, and in the meanwhile could learn what the Emperor was going to do for his son; the idea being to drop the business politely on one or other of these points. He always understood that the Cardinal's object was to prevent the match with the Prince, knowing at the same time that the marriage he was advocating would never be carried through, as the Archduke had not the wealth necessary for the purpose, and the Emperor was not near enough to be able to forward the designs and objects which would lead the Queen to introduce a foreign husband in her house against the will of her people, which, indeed, would be hopeless unless your Majesty took the whole matter in hand, and did it yourself, as this uncle had done for his niece.

"I have no doubt," I said, "that all this happened as you say, but the end of the business has been that my master the King will not comply with the respect due to his uncle, the Emperor, and his friendship with the King of the Romans, or with the love he bears to the Archduke, and will be prevented from displaying that regard and consideration due to his relatives. This has been the cause of the failure to send a reply, and not any want of the affection and attachment which the King feels towards your mis-

tress. With regard to the proposed marriage with the son of the Earl of Lennox, since the Queen has to marry a native, it appears the most suitable match that can be found, both on account of the promise displayed by the Lord Darnley himself, and on account of his parents, for whom, and particularly for Lady Margaret, my master has an especial regard." I impressed this upon him both to lead him away from the subject of the Prince, and because I knew he would communicate this to Margaret, and I wished to continue the course I had adopted of trying to keep them in good humour in view of eventualities. He said, " It would certainly seem that, if my Queen could not marry a Prince powerful enough to ensure her against the dangers of marrying a foreigner, this is the best match for her, but it may have a great objection if this Queen does not take it well, as she shows signs of not doing. She might in such case take the side of Catherine, and, if she were to declare her the successor to the crown, it would be necessary for my Queen to use force to eject her if this Queen were to die, especially if the Protestant side is appealed to for support by the Queen of England; or if she were to enter into a new and close confederation with France, or if, again, the French, moved by greed for this country, were to carry out in earnest that which they seem to be treating as a joke, namely, the marriage of their King with his Queen. All this would cause grave evil, but could be remedied by his Majesty the King taking my Queen and her affairs under his protection, in the assurance that at all times, and in every matter, they shall be considered as his own. In this way with perfect ease great effects might be produced, but such an arrangement would have to be treated with the utmost secrecy and kept quiet till the opportune moment. There is no doubt whatever that the majority of the gentry and common people are attached to my Queen, and I can affirm positively that she will follow in every respect the wishes of your master. To send an Ambassador to treat of this would

cause suspicion, and the Queen therefore begs you to inform the King of her desires, so that his Majesty may send you powers and full instructions, and we can then treat with all the speed and secrecy that the case requires. The Queen would do the same, but if it were thought that the matter could be dealt with better by the King's Ambassador in Paris (he being nearest to Spain) it could be done very well in that way, because the Queen of Scotland's Ambassador there is a prelate, and a person of great virtue and ability.[1] Above all I wish you to understand that my Queen's wish and desire are what I have set forth."

These negotiations were probably dictated as much by Lethington—the Cecil of Scotland—as by Mary herself, for now that Leicester was out of the question, and Elizabeth's friendship in danger, it was desirable for the moment to secure the support of Spain, even at the risk of a set-back to Protestantism. Guzman saw the fresh possibilities of uniting the Catholics of England and Scotland in revolt when the time was ripe, thus affording Philip a fair chance of stepping in and again taking England under his tutelage. Lethington therefore left London on May 4th with Throckmorton, assured of Guzman's interest and his intention to send post-haste for the King's instructions. For once Philip in reply showed some signs of eagerness:

Your news on this head has been very pleasing to me, and, on the presumption that the marriage of the Queen and Darnley has really gone so far, the bridegroom and his parents being good Catholics and our affectionate servitors; and, considering the Queen's good claims to the crown of England, to which Darnley also pretends, we have arrived at the conclusion that the marriage is one that is favourable to our interests, and should be forwarded and supported to the full extent of our power. We have thought well to assure the Queen of Scotland and Lord Darnley's party—which we believe is a large one in

[1] Archbishop Beaton.

the country—that this is our will and determination and that if they will govern themselves by our advice and not be precipitate, but patiently await a favourable juncture, when any attempt to upset their plans would be fruitless, I will then assist and aid them in the aim they have in view. I have instructed the Duke of Alba to address himself to this effect to the Scottish Ambassador resident in the Court of France, but I think well to advise you of it also in order that you may know my views and keep them quite secret from the Queen of England and her friends, seeing the great danger which would result to the business itself and all other of our affairs if it became known.[1]

Lethington in the meanwhile had returned to a Scotland full of turmoil and discontent, as may be judged from Randolph's next letter:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, May 3, 1565.

Such discontent, large talk, and open speech I never heard in any nation, and for myself see not but it must burst out in great mischief—for the Queen is suspected by many of her nobles, and her people are discontented for her religion, this match a-making without advice, and other as evil things they suspect, besides her unprincely behaviour in many of her doings. They will shortly either have it reformed, or openly signify that what she has taken in hand tends to her own destruction and overthrow of tranquillity of her realm—and must be helped by sharper means. They are not one or two, nor are they meanest that speak it, nor the unlikeliest to execute it.

Their talk of this marriage is so contrary to their minds, that they think their nation dishonoured, the Queen shamed, and country undone. A greater

[1] Spanish Calendar: Elizabeth, Vol. I., pp. 432—3.

plague to herself and them there cannot be, a greater benefit to the Queen's Majesty could not have chanced than to see this dishonour fall upon upon her, and her so matched where she shall be ever assured that she can never attain to what she so earnestly looked for, and without it would accord to nothing. She is now in utter contempt of her people, and so far in doubt of them herself, that, without speedy redress, worse is to be feared. Many grievous and sore words have of late escaped her against the Duke of Châtelherault, she mortally hates Argyll, and so far suspects Murray that not many days since, she said she saw that he would set the crown upon his own head. How these men need look to themselves, your honour sees. It is come to this point, that Murray and Argyll will at no time be in Court together, that if need be, one may relieve or support the other. The Duke lives at home, and thinks himself happy if he may die in his bed.

Darnley was now safely through his measles, thanks partly to the Queen's assiduity in nursing him, which led to the inevitable wagging of scandal-loving tongues. Shortly after his recovery Mary created him Earl of Ross, deferring the greater honour, as Throckmorton says in his letter of May 21, until she heard how Elizabeth accepted her proceedings:

SIR NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *May* 21, 1565.

. . . About 2 p.m. Lords Erskine and Ruthven, two of her privy council, came and accompanied me to the Queen, whom I found in the castle, accompanied by the Duke of Châtelherault, the Earls of Argyll, Murray, Morton, Atholl, Glencairn and other Earls and Barons, so that it appeared few nobles were absent. I delivered your Majesty's letter, and under your instructions set forth at good length your

misliking and disallowance of her hasty proceeding with the Lord Darnley, as well for the matter as for the manner, wherein she erred by unadvisedness and rashness: and the said Lord Darnley and his parents had failed of their duties by their arrogant and presumptuous attempts to enterprise such matter . . . without making your Majesty privy thereunto, being your subjects. The Queen answered that she had not failed on her behalf to communicate the matter to your Majesty in time (that was to say) as soon as she was resolved of the man and the matter —for other promise she never made any but to communicate unto your Majesty the person whom she would like to choose. And as to your misliking it, she marvelled not a little, because she did but use her choice according to your Majesty's prescription, fortifying her saying and doings by your Majesty's mind declared not long ago by Mr. Randolph to this effect unto her, as she alleged: that is to say, what time she did advertise your Majesty of the motion made unto her of Charles Duke of Austria (your Majesty dissuading her from that match, and from any of the Emperor's house, and likewise from the house of France and Spain,) you were contented (that those houses only excepted) she might take her choice of any person within the realms of England and Scotland or in any other country; and because she thought none might be more agreeable to your Majesty and the realm of England, and likewise to her subjects and the realm of Scotland, than the Lord Darnley (he being your Majesty's kinsman and hers, and participating of the English and Scottish blood,) she did with the less preciseness proceed so far forward in this matter as she had done.

Thereupon I replied and impugned her sayings by the very words of Randolph's commission—containing these three articles, first for her own contentment; second the allowance of her people; and third that the choice be such as the straight amity betwixt us not only for our own persons, but also for our nation,

may be continued and not dissolved nor diminished. Proving to her by many and probable arguments, that Lord Darnley did in no part satisfy the contents of that liberal permission whereon she chiefly grounded herself to have your allowance. About this we spent a long time, and had sundry disputes, which I omit to declare till my access to your Majesty; as also my other negotiations with this Queen and her council, severally and together four sundry times.

Meantime that your Majesty may consider of the matter in good hour, and so direct your counsels and proceedings—it may please you to understand that this Queen is so far passed in this matter with Darnley as it is irrevocable, and no place left to dissolve the same by persuasion or reasonable means, otherwise than by violence, albeit the matter is not yet consummated, neither shall be (as she hath willed me to ascertain your Majesty) these three months, in which time she will use all means to procure your acceptance, and leave nothing undone to win your favour. She means shortly to send one (not Lethington, who is not presently in best terms with her) to treat with your Majesty therein. Darnley received the honours before specified after my audience the 15th instant (the creation of Duke of Albany only excepted) the conferring of which honour, the Queen at my leave-taking on the 19th promised to defer till she heard how you accepted her proceedings and answer to my legation. Yet I find her so captivated either by love or cunning (or rather to say truly by boasting or folly) that she is not able to keep promise with herself, and therefore not most able to keep promise with your Majesty in these matters. The day before my departing (which was the 18th) she made me dine at her own table alone: Randolph, with the Duke and other nobility, in another chamber. And after I had taken leave, she sent Lethington to my lodging with my dispatch, who brought me in present from her a chain of gold

weighing fifty ounces. I do well perceive it is in your Majesty's power either to dissolve this matter betwixt her and Darnley (if you like to use your power) as I shall declare at my coming: or it rests at your pleasure to end it more amiably with such conditions as may be to your honour, surety and felicity.

How completely Mary's infatuation seemed to change her and what airs and arrogance Darnley himself assumed with all these exalted honours thrust upon him, may be seen from the letter which Randolph wrote to Leicester on the same day. In its unaffected pity the letter also shows how the resident English Ambassador—more susceptible than Throckmorton—had yielded to the spell of Mary's soft enchantment:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *May* 21, 1565.

I know not how to utter what I conceive of the pitiful and lamentable estate of this poor Queen, whom ever before I esteemed so worthy, so wise, so honourable in all her doings: and at this present do find so altered with affection towards the Lord Darnley that she hath brought her honour in question, her estate in hazard, her country to be torn in pieces! I see also the amity between the countries like to be dissolved, and great mischiefs like to ensue. To whom this may chiefly be imputed, what crafty subtlety or devilish device hath brought this to pass, I know not, but woe worth the time! (and so shall both England and Scotland say) that ever the Lord Darnley did set his foot in this country. This Queen in her love is so transported, and he grown so proud, that to all honest men he is intolerable, and almost forgetful of his duty to her already, that has adventured so much for his sake. What shall become of her, or what life with him she shall lead, that already taketh so much upon

[*Photo, W. E. Gray*

LORD DARNLEY, WITH HIS YOUNGER BROTHER

After the painting in His Majesty's collection at Holyrood Palace

him as to control and command her, I leave it to others to think! What shall be judged of him that for bringing a message from the Queen, that was to his discontentment, would with his dagger have slain the messenger: so little he yielded to her desire, so bold he was at the first with one of her councillors; yea, with him that most favoured his cause, and was the chief worker of that which passed between them! These things my lord do move me much to lament her case; this is it that may move any man to pity that ever saw her; that ever loved her; but most of all I am sorry to see so good opportunity to unite these realms lost, to the great hurt and hindrance of Christ's true religion, and undoing of a great number of honest and godly men here that know not what to do either for themselves or their country. What to judge of his coming home, many men know not, but the most part are persuaded that in the sending of him there is other meaning than there was in outward show. It is also believed that ye may be easily entreated to find it good, what show or face soever you make to the contrary; and this among some of them hath been openly said that you do rather menace us with words, than mislike it in your hearts. Of this also I may assure your Lordship, that if this course of theirs be not stayed that they intend to take, I believe that within short time they will have more friends to take their part than we can imagine in these doubtful times to withstand them. They say we menace them with words, but they have in this quarrel to charge us with Spain, not finding themselves so destitute but that they have friends also in France, but many more in England than ye think of, and thereupon so embolden themselves that what ye say or do I see small account that they make thereof. She gathereth also so much advantage of the Queen my mistress's manner of dealing with her, that plainly she hath said that now she findeth that there was another mind than her words purporteth, for other-

wise she would have dealt in other sort than she hath done.

Darnley's conduct naturally made him a host of enemies, to whom Mary's love for such a man became inscrutable. "The saying is," wrote Randolph, who honestly believed it to be true, "that surely she is bewitched." After Throckmorton had returned, well rewarded, but unable to dissolve the match, Randolph wrote a letter describing how Mary's two most trusted advisers were now laid aside, also bringing on the scene the tragic figure of Riccio, or "David" as Randolph calls him—the Piedmontese who entered Mary's service as principal bass singer in the royal chapel. Riccio was appointed her French Secretary in 1564, and became increasingly useful—and pushful—in all her affairs :

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[*Scottish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

EDINBURGH, *June* 3, 1565.

By this time your Lordship has heard how Sir Nicholas Throckmorton left all matters: and where there was some hope that time would have wrought another mind in this Queen, there is no alteration to be seen, but as great tokens of love daily to pass between them as ever did before; which in her hath wrought so strange an effect that shame is laid aside, and all regard of that which chiefly pertaineth to princely honour removed out of sight. Her councillors now are those she liked worst: the nearest of her kin the farther from her heart: my Lord of Murray liveth where he list. Lethington has now both leave and time enough to make court to his mistress[1]: such favour he has won through his long travail and late favour he found amongst you! David is he that now works all—chief secretary to the Queen, and only governor to her good man. The rumours here are wonderful; men's talk very strange; the hatred towards Darnley and

[1] Mary Fleming—one of the four Maries of the Queen's Court—whom he married in the following January.

his house marvellously great, his pride intolerable, his words not to be borne but where no man dare speak against. He spares not also, in token of his manhood, to let some blows fly where he knows they will be taken. The passions and furies I hear say he will sometimes be in are strange to believe. What cause this people have to rejoice of this their worthy prince, I leave the world to think. When they have said and thought all they can, they find nothing but that God must send him a short end, or themselves a miserable life under such a government as this is like to be. What comfort can they look for at the Queen's Majesty's hand, seeing the most part are persuaded that to this end and purpose he was sent into this country? I spare here to speak so much as I have heard, and knowing so little of the Queen's mind as I do, I know not what counsel or advice to give. I travail so long with words, that whatsoever I speak is counted but wind. To see so many in hazard of life, lands and goods, it is pity to think. To remedy this mischief, either he must be taken away, or those he hates so supported that what he intends for others may light upon himself!

A little now spent in the beginning yieldeth double fruit. What were it for her Majesty, if she list not to do it by force, with the expense of £3,000 or £4,000 to do with this country as she would! It is worth the money to cut off the suspicion that men take of her Majesty, that she never liked anything in her life better than to see this Queen so meanly matched, and her country at this miserable point. She is determined to make a divorce with England, yet you shall not lack fair words till she can make a better party. She will speak France fair: what she may come by there I leave others to judge, but should it come to pass, as they say here, that you ally yourselves with Austria, I trow France will not refuse the old league with Scotland, poor as it is. Need forces them to fall into some man's hands or other, and when you might have had them,

you drove so long time with them, that now ye are like to go without them and repent it too late! I am sorry that I have lost my good hope, but most of all that your Lordship had foregone so good a fortune, where I am assured your life had been happy, and should have here found wherewith to have contented you, if it had been taken in time.

She is now so much altered from what she lately was, that who now beholds her does not think her the same. Her Majesty is laid aside—her wits not what they were—her beauty another than it was; her cheer and countenance changed into I wot not what. A woman more to be pitied than any that ever I saw—such a one now as neither her own regard, nor she takes count of any that is virtuous or good. How loath I am thus to write, or what grief I have thus to think, your lordship may well conceive, of whom so many times and oft my chief delight hath been always to set forth her worthy praise equal to any that ever I saw—she only excepted to whom I am most bound in duty to honour and serve. I doubt not I shall easily avoid the note of inconstancy when I have so many witnesses to testify my words to be true, and I protest before God I never wrote thing with worse will in my life than presently I do this, and but to your Lordship's self alone, I wish that it were not known to creature alive, and would God that what imperfections soever be in her, had before been known, than now to burst out to so great a grief of many men's hearts as now it doth. From whence this proceedeth I know not what to judge, and to believe the common report and constant rumour that cometh abroad, peradventure I should do her grace injury and deceive your Lordship in writing of an untruth. The saying is that surely she is bewitched, the parties, the persons, are named to be the doers—the tokens, the rings, the bracelets are found and daily worn that contain the sacred mysteries. Of these and other matters I could say

more, but even now arrived this bearer, M. Mauvissière whom I could not delay.

Ruthven, whom Murray "hated for his sorceries," was probably one of the evil "parties" blamed by Randolph for what he regarded as the devilish metamorphosis of Mary. It was Ruthven, too, who now, according to the same Ambassador, undertook, if she would follow his advice, and such as he would take to him, "to quiet both this country and make England content with reason"; while Atholl openly declared that for all Elizabeth's seeming "to mislike this Queen's doings, she is well enough pleased therewith, and the sending hither Sir N. Throckmorton was but to threaten her." Ruthven was not the only Protestant leader now siding with Lennox and Mary against Murray, and so adding to the inextricable confusion of affairs. The rest of the Protestant Lords, fearful of increasing Catholic influence at Mary's Court, deemed it prudent to organise resistance, and "all such as are well minded against alteration of religion or the friendship of England" were assured by Elizabeth that she would "concur and assist them therein."[1] She also sent letters of recall both to Lennox and Darnley, but, as was probably expected, they declined to obey. Thereupon Elizabeth seized upon the less happily situated mother of Darnley, Lady Lennox, who had been restricted since April to her rooms at Westminster Palace, and was now committed to the Tower. This was on the eve of the arrival of a fresh Ambassador from Mary—James Hay of Balmerino, ostensibly to conciliate Elizabeth as far as possible but in reality to discover from the Spanish Ambassador whether any definite promise of support had yet arrived from Philip. The Spanish King's favourable reply (see pp. 373—4) had just arrived and Mary's Ambassador was naturally highly delighted with it:

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

[*Spanish Calendar:* Elizabeth, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *June* 25, 1565.

The Scottish Ambassador came to see me this afternoon, as he had promised. He told me he had

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 175.

conversed with the Queen the day before yesterday, and yesterday again, on the subject of the marriage of his Queen with Lord Darnley, and that she took it in such a way that she flew into a rage directly the subject was introduced. She said she was greatly displeased at the match, because it had been arranged without her consent, and for other reasons, and he asked her that these reasons might be handed to him in writing, that he might show them to his Queen. If she would not have this done he begged that she would appoint some persons to represent her and discuss the matter on the frontiers; but she refused both requests. He asked permission to visit Lady Margaret and hand her a letter which he had from the Queen for her, and another from Lady Margaret's husband, to which the Queen replied that she was greatly astonished that the Queen of Scotland should think she would allow Lady Margaret to receive visits, seeing that she was imprisoned for so grave a crime. When she was in prison before she was let out on her solemn oath that she would not allow her son to marry without her (Elizabeth's) consent, and she had deceived her. The letters, she said, might be handed to her, but she (the Queen) must see them first. He asked permission to hand to her Majesty a letter from the Earl of Lennox, but she refused to receive it, saying that she would not accept letters from a traitor, as she should very soon proclaim him to be, and his son as well. On this the Ambassador said to her that there was nothing more for him to do but to depart. He is to have an audience at Greenwich to-morrow, and will let me know what passes. He asked me whether I had received a reply from your Majesty with respect to the matter that I discussed with Lethington, and I gave it to him in accordance with your Majesty's commands. He appeared highly delighted with it, and said that his Queen desired nothing so much as that your Majesty should take her under your protection, and that she should follow your

Majesty's orders in all things without swerving a hair's breadth from them. I urged him to endeavour to get his Queen to manage her affairs prudently, and not to strike until a good opportunity presented itself, and pointed out to him that the declaration respecting the succession should not be pressed unless they saw they were going to have their way. He approved of this.

Balmerino, as he afterwards confided to Guzman, found Elizabeth somewhat mollified the next day, "but he did not know whether it was a feint." Twenty-four hours afterwards he was hurrying back to Edinburgh with the eagerly-awaited news from Spain. Randolph found him on his arrival on July 6, "very ill at ease and melancholy for the evil success of his long journey." But three days later, according to Elizabeth's Ambassador, Mary and Darnley were secretly married at Holyrood, "and went to their bed at the Lord Seton's house."[1] Whatever truth there may have been in this story the banns for the public wedding were published on the 22nd, on which day Darnley was also created Duke of Albany. The ceremony itself took place in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood a week later, after the bridegroom had been proclaimed as King. Father Pollen's "Papal Negotiations," a work which throws much light on the subject, proves that the couple did not wait even for the expected dispensation from Rome necessary for their marriage as cousins. This, it seems, they could not have received for several months. For the only detailed description of the "manner of the marriage" we are indebted to the indispensable Randolph:

THOMAS RANDOLPH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times.*"]

EDINBURGH, *July* 31, 1565.

I doubt not but your Lordship hath heard by such information as I have given from hence, what the present state of this country is—how this Queen is now become a married wife, and her husband, the

[1] Scottish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 181.

self-same day of his marriage, made a King. In their desires hitherto they have found so much to their contents, that if the rest succeed and prosper accordingly, they may think themselves much happier than there is appearance that they shall be. So many discontented minds, so much misliking of the subjects to have these matters thus ordered in this sort to be brought to pass, I never heard of any marriage. So little comfort as men do take, was never seen at any time where men should have showed themselves to rejoice, if that consideration of her own honour, and of her country, had been had as appertained in so weighty a case. Thus they fear the overthrow of religion, the breach of amity with the Queen's Majesty, destruction of as many of the nobility as she hath misliking of, or that he pick a quarrel unto.

To see all these inconveniences approaching there are good numbers that may sooner lament with themselves and complain to their neighbours, than able to find remedy to help them. Some attempt with all force they have, but are too weak to do any good. What is required other ways, what means there is made, your Lordship knoweth, what will be answered, or what will be therein, we are in a great doubt, and though your intent be never so good unto us, yet we so much fear your delay, that our ruin shall prevent your support. When council is once taken, nothing is so needful as speedy execution ; upon this we wholly depend. In her Majesty's hands it standeth to save our lives or to suffer us to perish.

Greater honour her Majesty cannot have than in that which lieth in her power to do for us. The sums are not great ; the numbers of men are not many that we desire ; money will daily be found, though this will be some charge ; men grow daily, though at this time I think her Majesty shall lose but few. Her friends here being once taken away, where will her Majesty find the like ? I speak least of that which I think is most earnestly intended by this Queen and her husband, when by him it was lately said that he

cared more for the Papists in England than he did for the Protestants in Scotland. If therefore his hope be so great in the Papists of England, what may your Lordship believe what he thinketh of the Protestants there : for his birth, for his nurture, for the honour he hath to be of kin to the Queen, my mistress, if in preferring those that are the Queen's Majesty's worst subjects, to those that are her best, he declareth what mind he beareth to the Queen's Majesty's self, any man may say that it is slenderly awarded, and his duty evil forgotten. He would now seem to be indifferent to both the religions; she to use her Mass, and he to come sometimes to the preaching.

They were married with all the solemnities of the popish time, saving that he heard not the Mass. His speech and talk argueth his mind, and yet would he fain seem to the world that he were of some religion. His words to all men against whom he conceiveth any displeasure, how unjust soever it be, are so proud and spiteful, that rather he seemeth a monarch of the world than he that not long since we have seen and known as the Lord Darnley. He looketh now for revenue of many that have little will to give it him, and some there are that do give it that think him little worthy of it.

All honour that may be attributed unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully; all praise that may be spoken of him he lacketh not from herself; all dignities that she can endow him with are already given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not him, and what may I say more. She hath given over unto him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh. She can as much prevail with him in any thing that is against his will, as your Lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself. This last dignity out of hand to have him proclaimed King, she would have had it deferred until it were agreed by Parliament, or he had been himself of twenty-one years of age, that things done in his name might have the better authority.

He would in no case have it deferred one day, and either then or never. Whereupon this doubt is risen among our men of law, whether she being clad with a husband, and her husband not twenty-one years, anything without Parliament can be of strength that is done between them. Upon Saturday at afternoon these matters were long in debating, and before they were well resolved upon, at nine hours at night, by three heralds at sound of the trumpet, he was proclaimed King. This was the night before the marriage. This day, Monday, at twelve of the clock, the Lords, all that were in this town, were present at the proclaiming of him again, when no man said so much as "Amen," saving his father, that cried out aloud, "God save his Grace!"

The manner of the marriage was in this sort. Upon Sunday, in the morning, between five and six, she was conveyed by divers of her nobles to the chapel. She had upon her back the great mourning gown of black, with the great wide mourning hood, not unlike unto that she wore the doleful day of the burial of her husband. She was led unto the chapel by the Earls of Lennox and Atholl, and there she was left until her husband came, who also was conveyed by the same lords. The ministers, two priests, did there receive them. The banns were asked the third time, and an instrument taken by a notary that no man said against them, or alleged any cause why the marriage might not proceed. The words were spoken, the rings, which were three—the middle a rich diamond—were put upon her finger, they knelt together, and many prayers were said over them. She carrieth out the . . . and he taketh a kiss and leaveth her there and went to her chamber, whither in a space she followeth, and there being required, according to the solemnity, to cast off her care, and lay aside those sorrowful garments, and give herself to a pleasanter life. After some pretty refusal, more I believe for manner sake than grief of heart, she suffereth them that stood by, every man that could

approach, to take out a pin, and so being committed unto her ladies, changed her garments, but went not to bed, to signify unto the world that it was no lust moved them to marry, but only the necessity of her country, not if she will to leave it destitute of an heir. Suspicious men, or such as are given of all things to make the worst, would that it should be believed that they knew each other before that they came there. I would not your Lordship should so believe; the likelihoods are so great to the contrary that if it were possible to see such an act done, I would not believe it. After the marriage followeth commonly cheer and dancing. To their dinner they were conveyed by the whole nobles. The trumpets sound, a largess cried, and money thrown about the house in great abundance to such as were happy to get any part. They dine both at one table upon the upper hand. There serve these Earls—Atholl, sewer, Morton, carver, Crawford, cupbearer. These serve him in like offices—Earls Eglinton, Cassillis, and Glencairn. After dinner they dance awhile, and retire themselves till the hour of supper, and as they dine so do they sup. Some dancing there was, and so they go to bed.

Of all this that I have written to your Lordship, I am not *oculatus testis*, but of the verity your Lordship shall not need to doubt, howsoever I came by it. I was sent for to have been at the supper, but like a churlish or discourteous carl, I refused to be there, and yet that which your Lordship may think might move me much to have had the sight of my mistress, of whom those eighteen days by just account I got not a sight. . . .

Two things I had almost forgotten—the one was, to honour the feast the Lord Erskine was made Earl of Mar, and many made knights that never showed any great token of their vassalage. The other is that the Lord St. John had his office of Chief Chamberlain taken from him, and it was given to the Lord Fleming, now in principal credit with our new King.

With the Darnley marriage the tragedy of Mary Stuart quickens at once. All the leading actors were now gathered or gathering, for Bothwell was to be summoned by the Queen to help her against her rebellious Lords. Yet there was scarce one among them all in whom she could implicitly trust. Had Darnley been but worthy he might have saved Mary from her doom, as well as from herself. For there can be little doubt that the drama of Mary Stuart was a drama of sex as well as of politics: that Mary's downfall had some irresistible psychological connexion with the sudden unloosing of pent-up passions. Not that Mary was as licentious as her severest critics would have us believe. She had passed through the vicious Court of France without incurring a single word of reproach, and remained similarly blameless during her later years in England, when she was still free enough, had she been so minded, to give the scandal-mongers plenty to talk about. It was Mary's fate never to be allowed to develop on natural lines. She was little more than fifteen, be it remembered, when married to the delicate Dauphin of France, who was fully a year her junior, and she was still in her teens when left a widow in 1560. Darnley, apparently, caught her fancy at the psychological moment five years later, and was ill-bred and foolish enough to turn her love—if such it could be called, though it was not to be compared with the overwhelming passion which she presently wasted on Bothwell—to scorn and loathing. That, however, carries us beyond our period, and the scope of the present book, which leaves the hapless young Queen at the turning-point in her tragic career, having all unconsciously taken the first step leading irrevocably to the edge of the precipice over which she was so soon to stumble to ruin and shame.

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